ARTICLES PRESENTED

in commemoration of
2500th Anniversary

of the

IRANIAN MONARCHY

OCTOBER, 1971

Lahore Museum, Lahore

دو هزار و پانصدمین سال بنیانگذاری
شاهنشاهی ایران

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INTRODUCTION

Pakistan-Iran connections go back to the hoary past about which our konwledge is as yet limited. More specifically Faridon son of Jamshid of the Pishdadi dynasty, led an expedition against the Indo-Pakistan Sub—Continent in 750 B.C. Nearly two centuries after this event, in 550 B.C., the Achaemenians laid the foundation of Iranian monarchy. Darius-I (521-486 B.C) annexed parts of Sind and the Punjab to his empire, and during the succeeding centuries contact between the two countries continued to grow and develop. While preserving the basic tenets of their national ways of life, the people of both the countries were able to enrich their respective cultures through this contact. And this two-way traffic continues to this day.

Now that Iran is celebrating the institution of 2,500 year old monarchy we have, in the following pages, endeavoured to bring out some features of our common traditions in art, painting and calligraphy. The art of Islamic Iran derived its primary sustence from the Sasanian styles, but since Islam banned all representation of human and animal forms to combat Idolatory, a new challenge had to be faced by the Iranian and Indo-Pakistan artists and craftsman. The solution to this problem led to the birth of the unrivalled floral designs, geometric patterns arabesques and artistic calligraphy. The Il-Khan period saw the rise and growth of the art of miniature painting which, in turn, gave a new meaning to calligraphy. Some details of this cultural history are discussed in these pages.

I am certain the articles published in this commemoration Booklet will be found useful by students of art, miniature painting and calligraphy. I thank the contributors, Dr. Abdullah Chaughatai, Lt. Col. K.A. Rashid, Dr. Mohammad Baqir and Mr. Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan for making this venture a success in the very short time at our disposal.

S.M. TAQI KAZMI,

11th October,1971 *Director, Lahore Museum*

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1. THE EARLIEST RELATIONS OF IRAN AND PAKISTAN

By
Dr. Muhammad Baqir,
Professor Emeritus,
University of the Panjab, Lahore.

THE earliest Pakistan—Iranian political and cultural connexions form a most vital chapter in the history of both Pakistan and Iran, and there have been attempts to resuscitate this history though not in a systematic or comprehensive manner. According to Mir Khwand, the first recorded invasion of India by Persians took place under Faridun, son of Jamshid, the fifth monarch of the Pishdadi dynasty, who flourished about 750 B.C. No details are available with regard to the extent of the empire of Faridun in India, but probably it included the Panjab[1]. Yet this remains an established fact that the historical connection between Iranians and the people of the sub-continent began from the time of the great Achaemenian King Darius Hystaspes (522-468 B.C.)[2], who at the junction of the Kabul and the Indus, near the town of Caspatyrus, built a fleet which, under the command of a Greek of Asia Minor, Scylax of Caryanda, was given the task of sailing down the Indus and surveying the way to Egypt. This was an ambitious scheme for exploring the sea routes which could be used to link the eastern marches of the Empire to its western possessions. The fleet took thirty months to reach its

1. Mir Khwand, *Rauzatus Safa*.
2. Sami, Dr. 'Ali' *Persepolis*, *p.* 69 and Ghirshman, R. *Iran*, *p.* 139.

goals[3]. On the strength of the survey so made, Darius sent an army and conquered Sind and the old Panjab in 518 B.C., thus constituting the twentieth satrapy mentioned by Herodotus[4]. Incidentally India is referred to in the *Avesta* in four passages, but the really important reference to the Panjab is in the *Vendidad* 1.19. This work describes sixteen "excellent" places of which fifteenth is the "Haptahindu"[5] extending from east to west. This Haptahindu, the land of seven rivers, is the Avestan name for the Panjab and Sind, there being seven rivers, *viz.*, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Bias, Sutlej, Sind and Kabul, flowing in the land. This territory was named later on by the Muslims as the Panjab, or land of five rivers, by omitting Sind and Kabul.

The latest excavations at Timurgarha have revealed for the first time in Pakistan the existence of the structural remains of

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3. "But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, in which so many crocodiles are found that only one river in the world has more. Darius, desiring to know this Indus into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryandala, and others in whose word he trusted ; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyic Country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea ; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirteeth month to that place whence to the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After the circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea", Herodotus, *Book IV.*, 44 (Translated by A.D. Godley).
4. Marshall, Sir John, *A Guide to Taxila p. 11* : and
سرگذشت سه‌هزار و پانصد سالهٔ ایران از دکتر ذبیح‌الله صفا ، ص ۷.

۵. پانزدهمین جاها و روستاها که من اهورامزدا بهترین بیافریدم هفت هند است (هپته هیندو)، در آنجا اهریمن پر گزند بستیزه دشتان ناهنگام و گرمای ناهنگام پدیدآورد"
(اناهیتا، پورداوٗد ، ص ۱۲۰-۱۱۹)

"The fifteenth of the good land countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the seven Rivers.

Thereupon came Angre Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and excessive heat." *Vendidad, Fargard I, 19* [lines 72-75] translated by James Darmesteter.

We find reference of the political contacts between the two countries through the centuries down to the second century A.C. But during all this period the language used by Iranians was not Farsi or Dari[8]. According to the general belief and latest researches, Farsi, an offspring of Pahlavi, came into existence in the first or second century A.C. This was the time when Kushans were ruling in a part of the sub-continent with Peshawar as their capital, their empire having extended to some eastern provinces of Iran[9].

In can thus be conjectured that probably Kushans[10] were the first citizens of the Pakistan-Hind sub-continent, who came in contact with Persian, and must have brought this language here in the first or second century A.C. Thus the earliest time when Persian landed on this soil must be about two thousand years ago. This view is also supported by the Kushan inscription in Greek letters discovered from Sorkh Kotal in Baghlān (Tokhārestān), which contains some

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"Justin (XLI, 6,8) says that Mithridates' dominions stretched from the Lower Euphrates to the Hindu Kush, which implies that he took possession of Sistan and Western Arachosia but there is no suggestion that he ever extended his rule as far as the Indus. Had he done so, Justin would hardly have failed to mention it. Wroth is probably correct in showing the eastern limit of Mithridate's conquests' as running north-north-east from the neighourhood of Nushki in Baluchistan to Kabul, *i.e.*, along with watershed between the Helmand and Indus systems". (Marshall's *Guide to Taxila, p*. 20. *f. n.*)

8. Mo'in, Dr. Mohammad, *Introduction to Borhan e Qate', pp*. 27-28; and Habibi, 'Abdul Hai, *The two Thousand years old language of Afghanistan : The Mother of Dari language, pp*. 6-8.

9. Kanishka, the really important Kushan ruler came into power in 78 A.C. and ruled till 103 A.C. His capital was Purushapura (Peshawar) and his empire extended to Khotan and Kashghar. He built a great Buddhist monastery in Peshawar (*C.f.* Powell-Price, J.C., *A History of India, p*. 64 ; and Edwardes, Michael, *A Histroy of India, p* 66).

10. Tabatabai, Professor Mohit, *Indian Persian* (An article published in the *Pars* of Shiraz, April 4, 1966 issue).

Persian or Dari words[11]. Yet neither in Iran nor anywhere else is discovered a specimen of Persian prose or poetry dating back to this period. Hence one cannot positively substantiate at this conjecture.

Again we find near the end of the third century Mani (215/216-276 A.C.) the founder of the Manichaean religion, travelling to India to preach his gospel. The learned al-Biruni (early eleventh century) remarks in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Sachau's translation, *p.* 191):

"So Mani went off to India, China and Tibet, and there preached his gospel. Afterwards he returned, and was seized by Bahram and put to death for having broken the stipulation, whereby he forfeited his life"[12].

As the execution of Mani took place after he returned to Iran from India during the short reign of the Sassanian King, Bahram I, who ruled over Iran between the years 273 and 276 A.C., we again get a clue that Persian influences travelled with Mani to India at this period.

The earliest known book dictated in Persian language by an Indian seems to be the translation of Treatise on Poisons written by Chandragupta's (322-298 B.C.) great minister, Chanakya or Kautilya. This happened in the eighth century A.C., when a famous Hindu Philosopher and Medico with the name of Manaka was sent for by Harun al-Rashid (786-809) from India to Baghdad to cure him of a serious malady. This Manaka was converted to Islam and translated for

11. *C.f.* article by Maricq, M., in *Journal Asiatique* Pt. 4. 1958 ; Henning, M.B., in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1960; and Benveniste, Emile, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1961.

12. ابی‌الریحان محمد بن احمد بیرونی، کتاب‌الاثارالباقیه عن‌القرون‌الخالیة، (ص۲۰۹)، "فغاب الی الهند والصین‌والتبت‌ودعاهنا ک ثم‌رجع فحینئذ اخذه‌بهرام وقتله‌لانه نقض الشریطة و اباح‌الدم".

Yahya b. Khalid b. Barmak, the minister of Harun (170-177 A.H.), the treatise of Chanakya from Sanskrit to Persian[13]. Unfortunately this Persian translation of the Sanskrit work is not extant,

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13. و كان منكه الطيب الهندى صحيح الاسلام وكان اسلامه بعد المناظره والاستقصاو التثبيت (الجاحظ ، كتاب الحيوان ، ج ٧ ، ص ٦٥)

"This Manaka al-Hindi was a good Muslim. He embraced Islam after discussion, thorough investigation and careful consideration" (Al-Jahiz, *Kitab al-Hayawan*, vii, 65).

(ولشاناق) من الكتب كتاب السموم خمس مقالات فسره من اللسان الهندى الى اللسان الفارسى منكة الهندى و كان المتولى لنقله بالخط الفارسى رجل يعرف بابى حاتم البلخى فسره ليحيى بن خالد بن برمك ثم نقل للمأمون على يد العباس بن سعيد الجوهرى مولاه ...

*(منكه الهندى) *كان عالما بصناعة الطب حسن المعالجة لطيف التدبير فيلسوفا من جملة المشار اليهم فى علوم الهند متقنا للغة الهند ولغة الفرس وهو الذى نقل كتاب شاناق الهندى فى السموم من اللغة الهندية الى الفارسى وكان فى ايام الرشيد هرون و سافر من الهند الى العراق فى أيامه و اجتمع به و داواه- و وجدت فى بعض الكتب ان منكه الهندى كان فى جملة اسحق بن سليمان على الهاشمى و كان ينقل من اللغة الهندية الى الفارسية والعربية و نقلت من كتاب اخبار الخلفأ والبرامكة ان الرشيد اعتل علة صعبة فعالجه الاطباء فلم يجد من علته افاقه فقال له ابو عمر الاعجمى بالهند طبيب يقال له منكه وهو احد عبادهم و فلاسفتهم فلو بحث اليه امير المؤمنين فلعل الله- ان يهب له الشفأ على يده قال فوجه الرشيد من حمله و وصله بصلة تعينة على سفره فقدم و عالج الرشيد فبرأ من علته بعلاجه (ابن ابى 'اصيبعة' عيون الانباء فى طبقات الاطباء ، ج ٢ ، ص ٣٣)،

"Of the books written by Shanaq (Chanakya) is the *Kitāb al-sumum* (a book pertaining to Poisons & their Properties). This book consists of 5 *maqalas*. The book being in Sanskrit, Manaka al-Hindi explained (its contents) in the Persian language; and a man known as Abu Hatim al-Balkhi was actually responsible for rendering it into the Persian script. This Abu Hatim further explained (the contents of this book) to the Vizier Yahya b. Khalid al-Barmaki

otherwise this might have been the earliest known specimen of Persian prose, having been written by the close of the eighth century A.C.[14] But the historical fact does prove how far the relations between India and Iran had developed and Hindus had started learning Persian through close contacts with Persians.

We also come across references to some othet Sanskrit works[15]

(After approval) a copy of this work was prepared for (the Caliph's son) al-Ma'mun by his client 'Abbas b. Sa'id al-Jawhari. (This 'Abbas was later) deputed to read this book with al-Ma'mun...

MANAKA AL-HINDI was a scholar of Medicine. He was an excellent and wise physician. He was a philosopher also, and was (considered) an authority on all the Indian Sciences. Withal he was proficient in both the Indian language (Sanskrit) and Persian. He translated the work of Shanaq al-Hindi on Poisons from Sanskrit to Persian. He lived in the days of the Caliph Harun al-Rashid, and it was in the time of this that Manaka travelled from India to 'Iraq and had the honour of the Caliph's audience (who was then ill in bed). Manaka treated him. I have found it mentioned in some of the books that Manaka was a member of the Circle of Ishaq b. Sulaiman b. 'Ali al-Hashimi and he used to translate works from Sanskrit into Persian and Arabic. Quoting from the Kitab al-akhbar al-Khulafa, wal-Baramika, (I may say) that the Caliph al-Rashid once fell victim to a complicated disease. Many physicians treated him but he could not recover. Abu'Umar al-A'jami (one of his courtiers) advised the Caliph saying: "There lives in India a physician known as Manaka. He is a saint-philosopher. Should the Caliph send for him, Allah might grant recovery unto you through him! (The Rawi further) informs that the Caliph sent for Manaka and provided for his proper conveyance and other necessary provisions of journey. Manaka came (to 'Iraq) treated al-Rashid who recovered through his cure" (Ibn Abi Usaibi'a, *'Uyun al-anbā fī Tabaqāt al-Atibbā*, ii, 33).

14. *Cf.* Durant, Will, *Our Oriental Heritage*, 532 ; Havell, E.B., *The History of Aryan Rule in India*, 208 ;
دکتر غلام حسین صدیقی ، بعضی از کهن ترین آثار نثر فارسی (مجله دانشکده
ادبیات ، تبریز ۱۳۳۵) ؛ یادداشتهای قزوینی، ج ۵ ، ص ۱۲۳ .

15. *The Book of Charaka*. *Cf* Alberuni's *India* (Ar. Text, *p.* 123. Eng. Tr. v.i, 213) ; Ibn Abi Usaibi'a, ii, 32; and English translation of Charaka published in Calcutta in 1925.

being translated into Persian, but the dates of these translations cannot positively be established.

By the middle of the tenth century A.C., Persian becomes the language of every day use of the people of Makran, a province of Pak-India sub-continent, now forming a part of Pakistan, as Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Istakhri (d. 346 A.H.) remarks in his *All-Masalik val Mamalik* (240/951) :

و کذالک زی اهل الملتان لباسهم الازر والمیازر ولسان اهل المنصورة والملتان
ونواحیها العربیة والسندیة ولسان اهل مکران الفارسیة والمکریة.[16]

"The people of Multan wear trousers and mantles and the people of Mansurah, Multan and its neighbourhood speak Arabic and Sindhi. The people of Makran speak Persian and Makari".

The influence of Persian language and Iranian ways of life continued to spread in the area for another 200 years, *viz.*, the twelfth century, when Al-Idrisi (493/1100-560/1156) records in his famous geographical work *Kitāb Nuzhat-al-Mushtāq fī-Khtirāq al-Āfāq* :

"The language of the people of Makrān is Persian and Makrānī, and they use both for purposes of conversation. The dress of the common people consists of tunics, while the merchants and people of eminence wear shirts with long sleeves, and cloaks, and use long pieces of cloth and kerchiefs of gold lame as their turbans, in the style of the merchants of Iraq and Fars[17]"

This is, of course, the time when Persian influences had got a firm hold in many parts of the Pak-Indian sub-continent and many people of the soil had started writing prose and poetry in Persian, after the

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16. ابواسحاق ابراهیم اصطخری ، المسالک والممالک ، ص ۱۰۵ - ("و زبان مردم مکران پارسی بود و مکرانی" ترجمهٔ مسالک و ممالک ،ص ۱۵۱) .

17. Maqbul Ahmad, S., *India and the Neighbouring Territories pp.* 47-8.

advent of the Ghaznavis. Thus it is a very sketchy story of the relations of Iran with Pakistan from the earliest times to the middle of the twelfth century, as recorded by early chroniclers and geographers, but with the extant and known materials at our disposal a more detailed study of the subject is not possible at the moment.

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۲۸ - میرخواند ، روضة الصفا -

2. SOME STYLES OF PRACTICE-WRITING BY GREAT CALLIGRAPHISTS

By

Lieut.-Colonel K.A. Rashid, A.M.C.

THE importance of *Kalimah* in the domain of art is great. Besides the purely religious significance which it bears, its artistic potentialities have been unquestionable. The "letters *alif and la*—two letters with vertical stems—لا اله الا الله—form a wonderful basic pattern for every kind of decorative ornamentation of the formula which is, of course, found wherever Muslims have reached, and in both minor arts and architectural inscriptions these weighty words have been ornated with so intricate and bewildering interlacing ornaments that an uninitiated would scarcely imagine that the essence of Muslim faith is concealed behind them..."[1] This is indeed enchanting.

In my opinion this Islamic formula is the beginning of Muslim calligraphy. This was the main magic force of Islam in the world of art. The letter *alif* became the inspiring force in the art of war, where swords and scimitars were fashioned after its different patterns. The letter *lam* persisted in the imagination of the artists and architects till it found its fulfilment in the towers and monuments of Islam. On paper they both combined to culminate in the exquisite execution of *Tughras*. This was the height of "compressed" calligraphy.

In its earlier stages it were the Arabs who practised the art of calligraphy, while it received its highest fulfilment in the hands of the Persians, the Turks and the Indians. Innumerable styles of writing were developed up to the time of the Abbasids. From the Kufic to the Naskh, and on to Nasta'liq it developed in a dozen other

forms. There has been no further development after the last style, and I feel there is no likelihood of another developing in these days of typewriting and printing.

In this short paper I will not deal with the history and development of this art. I have a few specimens of rare calligraphy to demonstrate and show how the calligraphists used to practise their art. There are seven specimens of calligraphy being reproduced here for the readers to ponder. I shall give a brief description of each to explain my point of view. It will show how the calligraphists used to show their skill in the practice of strokes and curves. These seven specimens pertain to the Nasta'liq style of writing. I have not come across any practice-writing in the Naskh style. May be some day someone is able to throw some light on this hidden aspect of calligraphy.

There are two main types of Arabic writing, namely: (1) Kufic and (2) Naskh. The Kufic type is an angular type of writing, while the Naskh style cursive and rounded. During the second half of the eighteenth century A.D., a style of writing developed in Iran which was called *Ta'liq*. This style tended to slope downwards from right to left, and met with great popularity all over the Muslim world. It cotinued to progress side by side with the other styles, till Mir 'Ali Tabrizi combined the *Naskh* and the *Ta'liq* styles to produce the *Nasta'liq* style of writing. In this new style the "curves develop into most sensual forms—either round and supple like the crescent, or smooth and oval like an egg."[2] Its strokes are long and sharply or bluntly pointed in the form of a straight sword or a scimitar. In it the strokes flow easily, either straight or horizontally or with a slight gradually increasing bend towards the middle in the manner of a sword (Picture No. 1). This *Qit'ah* is from the pen of an unknown calligrapher of no mean order. In this you will see all the forms of a circle and other types of strokes beautifully illustrated. The calligrapher has also adopted the unique method of writing in the manner of a "Plough", in which the writing alternatively

appears in lines written in opposite directions, and makes it look as if each letter falls into the bosom of the letter opposite. The symmetry in each line is thus not interfered with. The strokes are spread out as if, like swords, striking in the bellies of the curves. I regret I have been unable to identify the calligrapher, but from his style and standard of writing he appears to be a master of his art. I would not be surprised if he turned out to be the great master Mir 'Imad, for I discovered this *Qit'ah* lying atop another (Picture No. 2) in the same shop in Meshed which is signed by Mir 'Imad. Except that this writing is more bold than the one you have just seen in Picture No. 1, the style of writing, the curves and the strokes are very much similar to the one you have already seen.

Pricture No. 3 is another specimen of practice-writing which is again unsigned, but from the pen of a master. There is one striking peculiarity in this practice-writing, and that is the repetition of words and letters in different manners and moods so as to present various forms of expression in that particular style. This practice-writing should not be taken as an aimless scribble. The writing has a sequence and makes sense. But it takes practice and a good deal of labour to decipher what the calligraphist has written. This will be more apparent from Picture No. 4.

As I have said, all these pictures are practice-writing of great calligraphists. The artist while practising is creating different moods and patterns, thus covering the entire range of possibilities in which he can mould the words. Look at the bottom third of Picture No. 2, and see the words ضعیفیم (Dha'ifaim), عشقم (Ishqam) and مسلمان (Mussalman). You will find it variously written. Similarly, every word is written in a different style. This was real practice what they called مشق (Mashq). Going back to Picture No. 1, look into each line carefuly. You will again find several words written in different styles. I would particularly draw your attention to the central bold lines, written in white ink, in Picture No. 1, which end with the words Khwajah Mahmud. How beautifully the variants have been brought out !

To further illustrate my point, now look at Picture No. 4, which is an autographed *Qit'ah* of Mirza Muhammad. Incidentally, very little is found about this calligraphist in books on calligraphy. A small mention is however, found in *Tadhkirat, al-Khattatan* of Hidayatullah.[3] It says :

میرزا محمد شیرازی نسب بمیرزا کو چک وصال رساند و نستعلیق را نیکو نگارد
و شعر نیز گوید و تخلص داوری گزارد (۱۲۹۰ هجری) -

The picture shows the practice-writing comprising of a few verses of Hafiz which I am sure is easily readable. To facilitate its reading I reproduce it here. In its upper half, it reads as follows :

ساقی بنور باده بر افروز جام ما مطرب بگو که کار جهان شد بکام ما
ما در پیاله عکس رخ یار دیده ایم اے بیخبر ز لذت شرب مدام ما

Watch carefully the variants in this *Qit'ah*. Notice the word مطرب (Mutrab) ; how many variants it has ! At the bottom in the lower half of the *Qit'ah*, it reads thus :

گر میفروش حاجت رندان روا کند ایزد گنه ببخشد و دفع بلا کند
ساقی بجام عدل بده باده تا گدا غیرت نیاورد که جهان پر بلا کند

Look at the word میفروش (Maifarush) or حاجت (Hajat) or ببخشد (Bebakhshad). There are four styles in each word. The fifth one was perhaps not possible !

Another style of writing in Nasta'liq is the زلف عروس (Zulf-i'Arus) or the "Locks of the Bride." It is also a decorative style. Actually under he Nasta'liq style of writing innumerable styles have developed, amongst which is one called *Shakastah*. This Shakastah or the broken style of writing is again of different types. Zulf-i 'Arus is one of the Shakastah styles of writing, the other being شکستہ آمیز (Shakastah Amiz), However, I am dealing with the Zulif-i 'Arus here. Its strokes are interlocked and curve upward in a thick manner thinning our gradually, usually in a rising fashion. They ascend slantingly, as in Picture No. 5.

Picuture No. 6 shows the Shakastah Amiz style of Nasta'liq writing. The calligraphist shows a free flow of his pen by joining words and letters in the most original manner. There is a subtle flourish in his strokes. The end of the line here also is always ascending. He rarely uses dots, except for decoration. This makes the reading difficult. He omits the dots deliberately to keep the continuity of his flow, and rarely stops to annotate the writing with dots or other diacritical signs. This *Qit'ah* is also the work of a master. Unfortunately, it is not signed, although dated.

Picture No. 7 is a clear-cut specimen of Nasta'liq style of writing whice is flawless. This is signed by 'Abdur Rahim. He is no less a person than 'Abdur Rahim al-Jaziri Isphahani, the master calligraphist, who decorated the porticos of Madrassah Chahar Bagh in Isphahan with his writing. He is not to be confused with 'Abdur Rahim 'Anbarin Qalam, the court calligraphist of Emperor Jahangir. This *Qit'ah* will enable the readers to assess the beauty of Nasta'liq and compare its beauty with that of the Shakastah style.

All the *Qit'ahs* reproduced here are from the personal collection of the writer.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

3. PERSIAN ARTISTS INTRODUCED MINIATURE-PAINTING AT THE MUGHUL COURT

By
Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai

AFTER the conquest of Sind (709), the Musulmans began to pour into India by both the sea and land routes and thus Islamic Culture began to establish all over the conquered towns of India. After it the successive raids of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna from the north opened new land route, which subsequently used by all the conquerors. In Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, paper was introduced by the Musulmans because it did not exist here before that. Ibn Nadim (889) has mentioned in his *Al-Fihrist* that he had seen rough sketches made on paper by the famous al-Kindi which were depicting some idols from some temples of Multan. It is an obvious fact that in the beginning, the Musulmans used paper mostly for the manuscripts of the Quran which were also sometimes illuminated with specific type decorative motifs, and they undoubtedly enriched the art of calligraphy. But in India by the end of twelfth century of the Christian era, a permanent Muslim kingdom was established under the Ghouri Sultans with Delhi as its capital. And by the end of the fourteenth century many provincial kingdoms were established here after the disentegration of the central power and again by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Babur entered India and established the Mughul empire which lasted until the British took over during the nineteenth century.

In the domain of art, the ancient arts of the sub-continent before the Musulmans, the Gandhara sculptures and frescoes already existed

here which depicted the Budhist legends and religious practices of Budhism. But the miniature-painting depends entirely upon paper which was introduced here by the Musulmans. It started here with the advent of the Musulmans in this country. Dr. Hugo Bughthal says: "It is curious that the *Fables of Bidpai* spread not only to the West but also eastward back to India. So after a migration of a thousand years *Kalila wa Dimna* returned to its country of origin, when in the 16th century descendents of Timur conquered Afghanistan and North India and established themselves as Sultans of Delhi. They brought with them the cultural and artistic tradition of Muslim Persia". This compilation in India, is sometimes interpreted as *Anwar Suhayli*.

Persian and Central Asian Tradition :

It is, however, a fact that the art of miniature-painting began here since Musulmans began to rule over India and it did not develop any standard until the establishment of the Mughul empire under Zahir'ud-Din Babur (1526), a product of Central Asia, who ushered the Mughul rule over India. He himself has given a very interesting vivid account of calligraphy and the art of miniature-painting which then developed at Herat under the patronage of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqra (d. 1504), the last ruler of the house of Timur. He has specially discussed the works of Kamal-ud-Din Bihzad, the artist, and Maulana Sultan Ali Mashhadi, the calligraphist who were considered the leaders of these arts.

Babur had artists in his service when he settled here and he immediately prepared the illustrated edition of his *Tuzuk*—Memoirs. Fortunately the original Persian manuscript of his Memoirs, known as the *Waqiaat-i-Baburi*, is preserved in the Library of the Alwar State, India. It was calligraphed by Ali al-Katib in A.H. 937/A.D. 1530 at Agra for Humayun while Babur himself was alive. Although during the reign of Akbar other illustrated editions of the same Memoirs were also prepared which are regarded the Persian transla-

tion of Khan Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. One of these manuscripts is fortunately preserved in the Imperial Library of Moscow. It was prepared at Lahore (1600) and it has been published by the Russian Government.

It all means that the Persian and Central Asian traditions of art and the technique of the preparation of these illustrated manuscripts were introduced here by Babur. Humayun had succeeded his father. But he had to face troubles which compelled him to leave India and take shelter in Iran at the court of Shah Tahmasp at Tabriz.

Bayazid Bayat, a contemporary writer, says in his *Mukhatasar* : "While preparations to leave (Iran) for Kabul were in progress, Humayun issued two *farmans*. One of them was meant to invite Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz and Mulla Khwaja Abdu's-Samad Shirin Qalam, the painters and the other was addressed to Mulla Qutb'ud-Din, father of Qazi Ali al-Bakhshi who could not join him owing to some domestic affairs. But when Mir Sayyid Ali and Mulla Abdu's-Samad were apprised of the purpose of the *farman*, they submissively started at once and Mulla Fakhr, the binder, also accompanied them. When they reached Qandhar they were asked to proceed to Kabul. Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi, Mulla Abdu's-Samad and Mulla Fakhr were presented in audience before the Emperor Humayun at Kabul through Khwaja Jalal'ud-Din Mahmud. Humayun was then encamping there on his way to India through present Pakistan".

Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi : He was the son of Mir Musawwir, a great artist who originally belonged to Iraq (Mesopotamia) and migrated to Tabriz through Badakhshan and Sultaniya. He was one of the great artists of Shah Tahmasp's court. Mir Sayyid Ali himself was not only a painter but also a great poet with a *nom-de-plume* 'Judai'. There was a very keen rivalary between him and poet Ghazali Mashhadi. Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi was conferred upon the title of *Nadir al-Mulk-e-Humayuni*. He contributed a great deal towards Mughul painting, which we shall describe below. He went to Mecca for Hajj where he died in 1570.

Khawaja Abdu's-Samad Shirin Qalam : He was originally a resident of Shiraz and his father Nizam al-Mulk was the minister of Shah Shuja'. Khawaja Abdu's-Samad had undergone training in the studio of Kamalu'd-Din Bihzad at Tabriz. Bihzad had already been brought to Tabriz by Shah Isma'il Safawi just after his victory of Muhammad Shebak Khan Uzbuk of Khurasan. Khwaja Abdu's-Samad was appointed as tutor to Akbar by Humayun to give lessons in Drawing. It is also mentioned in the *Akbarnama* that both Akbar and Humayun himself took lessons in drawing together from Khwaja Abdu's-Samad. Akbar had also appointed him as the director of his *atelier* where other artists were working under him. In the atelier of Akbar, Khwaja Abdu's-Samad had trained the local Hindu artists on the tradition of Persian miniature-painting and specially Abu'l-Fazl mentions that : "Daswanth is the son of a palki bearer. He devoted his whole life to art, and from love for his profession used to draw and paint figures even on walls. One day, His Majesty saw him, discovered his talent and handed him over to the Khwaja. In a short time he surpassed other painters. In backgrounding, drawing of features, distribution of colours portrait-painting and several other branches, Basawn excelled so much that some critics prefer him to Daswanth. Similarly there were also other Hindu artists like : Kesu, Mukand, Madhu, Jagan, Mahesh, Khem Karan, Tara, Sanwala and Ram who worked there under the guidance of the Khwaja Abdu's-Samad.

Khwaja Abdu's-Samad was also administrator of Multan and according to the statement of Bayazid Bayat, he used to live at Lahore, I think that he died at Lahore just about the close of the tenth century of Hijra. His one son, Khwaja Sharif was appointed as the administrator of the atelier of Akbar as we find many illustrated manuscripts of Akbar's reign which bear this information in their colophons. Jahangir had appointed Khwaja Sharif to the high position of the Amir al-Umara. It is certain that Khwaja's family contributed a good deal towards the art of miniature-painting

and calligraphy.

The House of Timur :—The earliest and most important work in the domain of painting which these above noted chief artists from Iran had contributed at the Mughul court was one large size painting which may be called a composite painting of the House of Amir Timur, now in a dilapidated condition, is preserved in the British Museum, London and perhaps this great work was already before Humayun when he had conferred upon Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrizi the title of *Nadir al-Mulk Humayun Shahi*, otherwise there was no other opportunity for Humayun to judge his merits in the execution of special commissioned work. It measures about forty-five inches into forty-two and is painted on fine cotton.

The late Dr. Laurence Binyon, a great authority on Eastern Art wrote a monograph on this unique painting under the title : *Painting of the Sixteenth Century : Emperors and Princes of the House of Timur*. He writes : "It is obvious that two different hands have been at work on the painting. The picture is entirely Persian......... It is a fact that by 1550 Humayun had established at Kabul, when both Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi and Khwaja Abdu's-Samad had joined him. ...... Everything, then, points to Mir Sayyid Ali, or alternately, Abdu's-Samad, as the author of our painting, which is entirely in the style of the painters of Shah Tahmasp's court ; and the subject being what it is, it may well have been the first work commissioned by Humāyun. The date would be then about 1550. And from the character of the style it is not likely to have been painted at a much later date. Here, probably we have the earliest work of the whole Mughul School. But apart from the portraits introduced at a later time, the picture is one of the most important and interesting Persian painting of the Safawi period".

Consequently we can easily assert from above noted account that the Central Asian and Persian traditions of painting were quite actively taken up in the very beginning of the Mughul rule in the sub-continent of India and these works were immediately

introduced here by Babur and Humayun. Akbar had tried to keep up all the Persian traditions of painting.

Emperor Akbar's Period : We have noted above with the reference of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that there were many non-Muslim artists at the court of Akbar who were duly trained by Khwaja Abdu's-Samad and similarly many Persian literary works were also illustrated by them under the guidance of Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi and Khwaja Abdu's-Samad. But one of these illustrated works, the *Dastan Amir Hamza* or *Hamza Nama* occupies a unique position among those illustrated works. However, it is a fact that the first illustrated book is the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* which was exclusively taken up by these great Persian artists, *viz.*, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi and Khwaja Abdu's-Samad, which we describe below.

Dastan-i-Amir Hamza : Akbar was very fond of romantic stories and he had appointed special story-tellers who used to recite those stories at night in the palace and he used to listen to them in his sleeping chamber. Specially one of them was the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* or *Hamza Nama*, which contained three hundred and sixty tales and twelve volumes each having a hundred folios. Fifty painters of Bihzad school were specially engaged to illustrate these folios under the superintendence of Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi and afterwards when Mir Sayyid Ali had proceeded on pilgrimage in 1570, Khwaja Abdu's-Samad was given the charge of this great work who finally carried out very satisfactorily. Many of these original ones have been lost and the remaining ones which have come to light are to day preserved in Austrian Museum for Art and Industry, Vienna, South Kensington Museum, London, United States's Metropolitan Museum, New York, Brooklyn Museum (USA) and some other collections. This extraordinary illustrated work of Akbar's reign, whose leaves are scattered over so many collections and still for the rest missing leaves, efforts are being made to acquire them, has been duly mentioned in the contemporary histories of Akbar's reign. The circumstantial evidence shows that while Humayun was still in Kabul and he was preparing to start for India, he had planned it and had

begun under the guidance of Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi as noted above. But it was materialised afterwards.

Mulla Alau'd-Dawla Qazwini writes contemporaneously in his *Nafais al-Maathir* : "It is now seven years that in compliance with the Royal Command of His Imperial Majesty (Akbar), Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi has been busy in the Imperial Library in preparing an illustrated edition of the Assemblies described in the Romance of Amir Hamza..." The description of the *Hamza Nama* is already given above from the same source.

Though Akbar did not possess fully the art of reading and writing yet he was fond of the study of history and literature. As noted above, he had appointed story-tellers in his palace to recite such romantic stories to him in the sleeping apartments of the palace. It is stated that one Taqlu Khan was a distinguished story-teller in the service of Shah Tahmasp the monarch of Iran. One son of this Taqlu Khan, known as Darbar Khan, although his original name was Inayat Khan, was specially appointed as a story-teller in the palace of Akbar, who also became his companion. Fortunately one contemporary portrait of Darbar Khan is preserved in the Lahore Museum, Pakistan. Akbar liked him very much. He used to recite the story from that illustrated large edition of the *Hamza Nama*, as noted above. The author of the *Maathir al-Umara* (1742), while writing the account of Darbar Khan, states the description of the illustrated edition of the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* and confirms that it was then preserved in the Imperial Library of the Mughul Emperor Muhammad Shah (d. 1748).

It was during the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah that Nadir Shah of Persia had invaded India. Muhammad Shah had surrendered to the Persian invader and offered him the key of his treasury which included, jewels, peacock throne and along with these offers, the illustrated edition of the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* was also included which was carried by Nadir Shah to Iran and it remained there. It

is, however, a fact that many leaves at present in various collections of this unique illustrated work exist which were spread from Persia through some deals.

It is reliably mentioned in contemporary histories that Humayun used to carry his library with him even on some war-fields. He had brought with him an illustrated edition of the *Zafar Nama* of Mulla Hatifi which was stolen from his camp while he was staying in Gujrat near Ahmadabad. But when he had married Hamida Banu Begum (Haji Begam—Maryam Makani) in 1541 in Sind, Shah Tahmasp had specially sent an illustrated edition of an Anthology which was calligraphed by Mir Ali in 1541, as a 'Wedding Present' to Hamida Banu Begam. Although Humayun had gone to Tabrez after this marriage.

On the suggestion of Akbar, these Persian artists at the court of Akbar had planned to illustrate some of the non-Islamic classics of the Sanskrit language which were also translated into Persian language by the court standard scholars. Specially the illustrated edition of the *Razm Nama*, a Persian translation of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata* was specially ordered by Akbar which was calligraphed by Inayatullah from Shiraz and its illustrations were made under the supervision of Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi. I had seen one illustrated manuscript of it with a dealer of Agra and specially Mir Ali Tabrezi had signed his miniatures in that Persian edition. The original edition of the illustrated edition of the *Razm Nama* which was prepared by Inayatullah Shirazi, is fortunately preserved in Jaipur State Library. This action of the state of those days, gave special impetus to preserve the non-Islamic texts of India. Similarly there are several works of Sanskrit language which have been duly preserved by the Royal orders in this way and many of them still exist in various libraries.

The political situation in the North had compelled Akbar to leave Agra and settle at Lahore in 1585. Akbar had to stay at Lahore up to 1602 continuously for several years. During these years Lahore

was considered the capital of the Mughul empire. It is reliably asserted here that during these years, more than fifteen standard works were illustrated at Lahore and one of them, known as the *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya*, which is fortunately preserved in Khuda Bakhsh Library at Patna, bears all miniatures which are on the very style and atmosphere of those Persian miniatures which were then prepared in Iran. However, an Album was prepared by the special order of the Emperor and it became so popular and important that poet Faizi has composed its chronogram which shows that it was completed in 1584 and the words are : '*Muraqqa-i-Bimithal*'.

Emperor Jahangir (1627) : Nuru'd-Din Jahangir ascended the throne in 1606 at Agra. He was a great connoisseur of Art and aesthete even from his princehood. It is a fact that Jahangir had patronised Persian artists and Iranian miniatures. He writes in his *Tuzuk*—Memoirs : "His library is under the superintendence of Maktab Khan, the head of the Library and Picture Gallery Departments, who is very old servant of mine". No wonder that Jahangir would value the school of Bihzad above all. His patronage towards painting may be understood when he boasts of his knowledge of the individual mannerism of his artists. If any picture containing many portraits and each face be the work of a different master, Jahangir could distinguish whose face was the work of each of the painters.

Jahangir Patronised Iranian Miniatures and their Artists :

We have noted above that great artists of Bihzad tradition or school had already migrated to the Mughul court who had been directly trained at Tabrez at the court of Shah Tahmasp Safawi. But the keen interest of Jahangir in Iranian miniatures and their artists also added a further impetus. In his great work the ***Alam Arai Abbasi***, Iskandar Munshi, the court historian of Shah Abbas (1581-1628) of Iran writes: "Maulana Ali Asghar of Kashan was incomparable master and accomplished painter as an artist and colourist, he was unique and surpassed his contemporaries in drawing of

streets and trees. He also took service with Sultan Ibrahim Mirza and in the time of Ismail Mirza, was on the staff of the library. His son Aqa Riza became the marvel of the age in the art of painting and unequalled in these days...". Though Iskandar Munshi does not mention in his *Alam Arai Abbasi* that Aqa Riza having been to India yet we read in the Memoirs of Jahangir who mentions : "On this day (1607 A.D.) Abu'l-Hasan drew a picture of my accession at the frontispiece of the *Jahangir Nama*, and brought to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect and his picture is one of the masterpieces of the age. At this time he has no rival or equal. If at this day master Abdul Haye and Bihzad were alive they would have done him justice. His father Aqa Riza of Herat, entered my service at the time when I was prince. He (Abu'l-Hasan) was a *Khanazad* of my court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (he is far better than his father). One cannot put them into the same category. I have brought him up from his earliest years to the present time, till his art reached its present level. Truly he has become such a master in painting that he has received the title of *Nadir al-Asr*. In the art of Drawing he is unique in his generation".

I have studied several specimens of art which were executed by this Aqa Riza Musawwir. It is, however, necessary to mention here two of them. I had discovered an inscription in Persian Nasta'liq style, on the wall of the main gateway of the Khusrau Gardens, Allahabad, which clearly mentions that the gardens were erected under the supervision of Aqa Riza Musawwir by the orders of Emperor Jahangir, while the other inscriptions of the same monument were inscribed by the great calligraphist Abdullah Mishkin Qalam. The other work by the same Aqa Riza, is an illustrated manuscript of the *Anwar Suhayli* in the British Museum, London (Add. 18379), which is the best specimen of the early days of Jahangir's reign, although it has some signed and dated miniatures of the last years of Akbar's reign. Among these miniatures many of

them bear the signature of Aqa Riza. The colophon of the MS. is dated 1609. The signature of Aqa Riza also bears the appellation '*Murid Murid-i-Padshah* and *Murid ba Ikhlas*'. The manuscripts is undoubtedly illustrated by this Aqa Riza and his son Abu'l-Hasan, who had assisted his father, whose name also appears on some of them. In the *Muraqqa-i-Gulshan*, preserved in the Royal Library of Teheran, one portrait of Shah Salim Chishti bears the inscription: "Shah Salim murid-servant with sincerity Aqa Riza Musawwir—in the month of Ramazan, 1008 A.H. (1599 A.D.). The portrait is shown wearing the robes of a saint, who now lies buried in the courtyard of the great mosque of Fathpur Sikri.

Some writers have unfortunately tried to regard Aqa Riza, Riza-i-Abbasi and Ali Riza as one and the same person, which is not correct. But as far as Jahangir's own taste for the original works of Bihzad is concerned, it is necessary to add here that once Jahangir was presented an original miniature by Bihzad, which he had made at the age of seventy and he had clearly written over it that he had drawn it at the age of seventy. The picture represents two camels fighting under the direction of their masters. Jahangir admired this piece of art by Bihzad very much and he had immediately commanded his court artist Nanha to copy it separately. Both the original and the copy by Nanha, are preserved in the Royal Library, Teheran's *Muraqqa-i-Gulshan*. Jahangir had put his own autograph on the copy :

> "Allah O, Akbar : Nanha following my command copied the work of Bihzad of Herat (sd) Jahangir, son of Akbar Badshah Ghazi, A.H. 1027/A.D. 1617".

It looks that artist Nanha of Jahangir's court had made this copy most admirably. Similarly, there is another miniature in the illustrated manuscript of the *Khamsa-i-Nizami* in the British Museum (Or. 6810) in which the central arch of some historical monument is being constructed by the masons. Jahangir had ordered one of his

court artist to copy the same which is also preserved in the *Muraqqa-i-Gulshan* in Teheran. They show that Jahangir had a great admiration for the Iranian miniatures and above all he had given training to his court artists in this way.

Jahangir Mentions in his Memoirs : "When I sent Khan-i-Alam to Persia as an ambassador, I had specially sent with him a printer of the name of Bishen Dass, who was unequalled in his age for taking likeness, to take the portrait of Shah Abbas and the chief men of his court and bring them to me. He had drawn the likeness of most of them and specially had taken that of my brother, the Shah Abbas exceedingly well and that when I showed to many of his servants, they said it was exceedingly well drawn".

As for the beautiful and costly things that the Khan-i-Alam brought, it was indeed the assistance of his destiny that gave such rare things into his hand. Among them was the picture of the fight of Sahib-i-Qiran Amir Timur with Tuqtamish Khan and the likeness of him and his glorious children and the great Amirs, who had the good fortune to be with him in that fight and near each figure was written whose portrait it was. In this picture there were two hundred and forty figures. The painter had written his name as Khalil Mirza Shahrukhi. The work was very complete and great and resembles greatly the paint brush of Ustad Bihzad. If the name of the painter had not been written the work would have been believed to be his. As it was executed before Bihzad's date, it is possible that the latter was one of Khalil Mirza's pupils, and adopted his style. This precious relic had been obtained from the illustrious library of Shah Isma'il Safawi (the first), or had come to my brother Shah Abbas from Shah Tahmasp. A person of the same name of Sadiqi, a librarian of his, had stolen it, and sold it to someone. By chance they (paintings) fall into the hands of Khan Alam at Isfahan. The Shah heard that he had found such a rare prize and asked it of him on the pretence of looking at it. Khan Alam tried to evade this by artful strategems, but when he repeatedly insisted on it, he sent it to him. The Shah

recognised it immediately, he said : "He kept it by him for a day, but at last as he knew how great was our liking for such rarities, he—God be proved—made no request whatever for it, but told the facts of the case (about it being stolen) to Khan Alam, and made the picture over to him".

If we carefully study Jahangir's interest in Persian miniatures and their artists, we understand that this interesting account will spread over many pages and it will reveal that at that time the right type of art appreciation and patronage of artists existed at the Mughal court, which had attracted so many artists from Persian to enter the service of the Mughal emperor.

It is mentioned in the Memoirs of Jahangir that once an illustrated manuscript of the Yusuf Zulaikha which was masterly calligraphed by the famous Mir Ali of Herat, was presented to Jahangir by Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan. It was also very artistically bound and Khan Khanan had paid its price one thousand gold coins to the man who had brought it to him. The main speciality of of this manuscripts was this that the famous Bihzad had made its miniatures and it was signed by him. Similarly Jahangir had already purchased one miniature for which he had paid fifteen hundred rupees to the man who had brought to him. This picture by Bihzad was dated A.H. 904/1499 A.D.

If we carefully collect scattered information about the illustrated manuscripts of the literary works of the Persian authors, we shall see that the Mughul emperors had collected in their library all the best manucripts and they had also put their autographs on them showing their specific contents. In this particular case Jahangir holds an outstanding position, who had specially collected a large number of such manuscripts in his Royal library. However, one of them, is the illustrated manuscript of the *Zafar Nama* of Sharafu'd-Din Yazdi (d. 1454) which is today preserved in the Walter Art Gallery of Baltimore (USA). Originally it was once in the Royal Library of Jahangir. It was brought to India by Mir Jamalu'd-Din Anju and

presented to Emperor Akbar, who had put his autograph on it and preserved it in his library. After Akbar this manuscript was presented to Jahangir on the occasion of his coronation in 1625, who had also put his own autograph over it thus :

> "The *Zafar Nama* calligraphed by Sher Ali, with eight miniatures showing the early work of Bihzad, which in their refineness holds no match in the world, had been entered the Royal library of mine.........".

Similarly there is another autograph of Shahjahan who has also confirmed the previous autographs at the time of his own coronation. However, the words of Jahangir quoted above show that Jahangir had the ability of the evaluation of these manuscripts, which is very rare among other monarchs. This autograph of Jahangir has settled that really it was illustrated by Bihzad and it was calligraphed in 1467.

If we carefully collect such information from the autographs of these Mughul Emperors, which they generally made on these manuscripts on the occasion of their accessions, I think that a large number of such manuscripts will come to light and above all it will also be observed that the history of miniature-painting mostly depends upon these manuscripts. Fortunately at present many such manuscripts are preserved in European, American and private collections.

Albums of Art : There are many collections of miniature-paintings in various collections and experts have called them as *Albums* or *Muraqqas* as they are given names after the name of the collectors or experts. It is, however, a fact that there were really such albums which were maintained by the court of emperors and best specimens of art according to the taste and point of view of its owner were collected in them. Their existence is found from the very beginning. During the reign of Akbar there was an official album and the court-poet Shaikh Faizi had composed verses in its praise. The last verse having the chronogram of its completion shows that this album was called *Muraqqa-i-Be Mithl*, which means the matchless album.

Jahangir had also collected an album of his own choice. I have seen its art in the Berlin museum which has been published as *The Book of Painting* by Drs. Kuhnel and Goetz. But I had also studied its major part in the collection of Mr. A. C. Aradeshir Poona which mostly contained the specimens of miniatures and calligraphy. But it shows that Jahangir had a special taste for such collections. Similarly during the reign of Shahjahan such albums existed and the court poet Abu Talib Kalim composed verses in its praise which shows that it was finalised in 1627. At present one such album which is known as the *Muraqqa-i-Gulshan* is lying in the Royal Library of Teheran which originally belonged to Shahjahan. Fortunately one album is preserved in the India Office London library which is known as the *Muraqqa-i-Dara Shikoh* which was given as a gift by Dara Shikoh to his wife Nadira Begam.

All these above noted albums contain specimens of art by the famous artists from both India and Iran and many of these specimens were the workmanship of the calligraphist. A very authentic history of art and its patronisation during the Mughul period can be easily prepared with the help of these albums. In short, these albums used to keep or preserve the best specimens of art according to the taste of its owner and then the standard of art existed in the country. This is the reason that some of them are very popular and great source of our history of art.

We have briefly discussed above that both the technique and style of miniature-painting were introduced here from Iran and Turan, because the artists who came here under the patronage of the Mughul rulers automatically brought with them. The importance of this intercourse should be fully realised as its explains much of the character of the Persian Indian work which followed. More than that, it stimulated the drawing of the figure, and specially gave to it that rhythmic quality and flowing contour which it retained from this time onward throughout its course.

It is, therefore, necessary to point out here that the origin of

Indian painting during the Muslim period does not begin with Budhist frescoes of Ajanta, but with the specimens and artists brought here by the Muslim Emperors from Persia and Central Asia. However, it is a fact that the miniature-paintings of the Mughul period afford us an opportunity to study the culture of those days through these specimens of art which are undoubtedly the best representation of the daily life of those at the Mughul court.

15-F-Gulberg (II) M. ABDULLA CHAGHTAI
Lahore.

4. THREE UNPUBLISHED PICTURES OF RIZA-I 'ABBASI, THE COURT PAINTER OF SHAH 'ABBAS THE GREAT, AND THE CONTROVERSY ABOUT HIS PERSONALITY

By

Lt.-Col. K.A. Rashid, A.M.C.

Introduction

THERE are three contemporary painters-cum-calligraphists of the period of Shah 'Abbas the Great about whom certain confusion in identification has arisen due to the similarity of their names and profession. They are (1) Aqa Riza, (2) Riza-i 'Abbasi and (3) 'Ali Riza. Of these three, the first, Aqa Riza, was a painter and calligraphist, the second, Riza-i 'Abbasi, was purely a painter, and the third, 'Ali Riza, was a calligraphist. Out of the three again, it was Aqa Riza who went over to India and served in the courts of Akbar the Great and Emperor Jahangir.

According to *'Alam Ara-i 'Abbasi*,[1] they belonged to Kashan, while Jahangir in his *Tuzk*[2] mentions them as hailing from Herat. 'Ali Riza was from Tabriz, and is commonly known as 'Ali Riza 'Abbasi Tabrizi. Riza-i- 'Abbasi, the artist under discussion, came from Meshed, according to my presumption. He is known through several of his signed paintings which are scattered over many museums of the world, such as the Boston, Louvre, Bibliotheque Nationale, Tehran and the Metropolitan. His paintings are signed in two different ways, *viz.* Riza and Riza-i 'Abbasi. Paintings found signed as Aqa Riza do not belong to him, but to Aqa Riza, the son of 'Ali Asghar who went over to India and was also a calligraphist. We shall here discuss all these points in some detail. The pictures signed as

Riza by Riza-i 'Abbasi are his earlier pictures, before he became associated with the court of Shah 'Abbas the Great, after whom he adopted the title of 'Abbasi.

My revered friend, Dr. Muhammad 'Abdullah Chaghatai, was the first to publish a learned article in the *Islamic Culture*,[3] and made an excellent attempt to remove the misunderstanding and confusion about the personalities of these three artists. I shall often be referring to his scholarly dissertation while discussing my thesis. Since the publication of his article, however, some hitherto unpublished facts have recently come to light, which both clarify and add to the confusion. My real purpose in writing this article is to introduce to my readers three pictures of Riza-i 'Abbasi reproduced here. In an attempt to do this I found myself entangled in this "eternal triangle" and, in an effort to disentangle myself, I covered a new field on the subject, which I thought may help to further clarify the subject. The following is the result of my research.

The Life and Art of Riza-i 'Abbasi

In a book recently published in Iran, entitled *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* (کارنامهٔ بزرگان ایران),[4] it is stated :

بر زندگانی رضاء عباسی برخلاف معاصرینش که کم و بیش در تواریخ نامی
از آنان ذکر شده ، هچ روشن نیست ـ

Rendered into English it means : "In contrast to his contemporaries whose life is avilable in the books of history, there is nothing to be found about the life of Riza-i 'Abbasi. The word معاصرینش (his contemporaries) here probably means the other artists mentioned above, whose names are very similar. The period in which Riza-i 'Abbasi lived has also been given variously by different writers. But one thing is certain that he lived during the lifetime of Shah 'Abbas the Great. M.S. Dimand[5] fixes this date between 1587 and 1628 A. D. This corresponds to 996-1038 A.H. This gives him a life-span of 42 years. According to *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* his period is



given as lying between the years 995 and 1038 A.H. This gives him an age of 43 years. I am inclined to doubt this statement and feel that our artist lived for a longer period of life. This is evident from the date of his signature under his writing on Picture No. 1, which says :

در مشهد مقدس آخر روز جمعه دهم محرم الحرام در دولت خانه در خدمت
باران ساخته شد - راقم رضاء ۱۰۰۷ خصوصاً حاجی میرزا عرا جسگی سلمه الله -

["On last Friday, the 10th of Muharram, this picture was drawn in the State House, in the company of friends. Raqam Riza 1007. Specially (?) Haji Mirza Gharajasghi (?)."]

It will be noticed that he has signed his name as Riza only. If he was born in the year 995/996 A.H., then it would mean that our artist at the time of drawing this picture was hardly 11/12 ! This does not seem probable for the following reasons :

(1) It is rather too young an age to produce such a mature work of art.

(2) The writing on the side reproduced above also appears mature for that age.

(3) This picture was made in the company of a few intimate friends, and was necessarily drawn in a short time. Also it is not a posed picture obviously, and, therefore, could not have taken a long time. There is humour about the picture, which is very subtle ; the mood has been caught spontaneously. This shows a great mastery of the art which is inconceivable at the age of 11/12 years.

(4) The picture depicts one Haji Mirza Gharajasghi (?) whom I have been unable to identify. He is shown as a bold-headed middle-aged breaded man. Obviously he was an intimate friend of the artist, for he says so in the marginal writing. And if it be true that he painted this picture at the small age of 11/12 years, it is very unlikely that he had friends much older than himself. The

bald head gives the figure an elderly appearance. The age of this gent!eman is likely to be between 25 and 35 years. The phrase در خدمت یاران ساختہ شد [drawn in the company of friends] is very significant and shows that the company in which this picture was drawn was of intimate friends and not just casual acquaintances. They must have been at least of the same age group.

It will be further seen from this picture that the signature is dated 1007. Now, these were tumultuous days, as we learn from the "Life of Shah 'Abbas the Great."[6] It says :

در ۱۰۰٦ بار دیگر عبدالمومن ازبک مشهد را گرفته بسیاری از اهالی شهر را کشته و خراسان را متصرف شد و خود در این سال در ماوراء النهر بجای پدرش عبدالله خان ازبک نشست و از بد رفتاریهای خود بقتل رسید و تا ۱۰۰۸ شر ازبکان از خراسان رفع شد -

["In 1006 'Abdul Momin Uzbek captured Meshed for the second time, and killed a lot of inhabitants of that place, thus occupying Khurasan. In this very year he went and sat in the place of his father 'Abdullah Khan Uzbek in Transoxania. On account of his misdeeds he was murdered and till 1008 he evil cast by the Uzbeks did not clear off from Khurssan."]

Riza-i 'Abbasi till then was known only as Riza ! These were the earliest pictures of Riza-i 'Abbasi and and much before the time he was actually introduced into the court of Shaha 'Abbas. Before I proceed any further I must make one point clear and draw attention of my learned readers to an article by Dr. Mehdi Behrami on Riza-i 'Abbasi which was published in the well-known journal, now defunct,[7] آئندہ (*Ayendeh*), Vol. III, No. 13. Besides other things which he has confused I will point out one glaring slip, and that is, Aba Riza the painter-cum-calligraphist who went over to India never called himself nor has he ever been known as Aqa Riza 'Abbasi. He was known just as Aqa Riza. From the following passage in his writing, Dr. Behrami seems to have retained Aqa Riza in Iran till 1020, whereas

actually he was in India from the time of Akbar the Great! Now read the following passage :

مدت کار آقا رضا را از روی قطعات تاریخ وار او میتوان در بین ۱۰۰۷ و ۱۰۴۴ هجری تعین کرد و یکے از کار هائے زیبای او امروز در موزه تهران مشاهده میشود - شاید نخست در مشهد بسر میبرد و تا پیش از ۱۰۲۰ بدربار شاه عباس تقربی حاصل نه کرده است و در آغاز امر فقط بنام رضا اکتفا می نموده -

["The period of his life-work as found from the chronograms seems to stretch from 1007 to 1044 A.H. One of his masterpieces is in the Tehran Museum. Probably the first of all settled down in Meshed, as before the year 1020 he did not have access to the court of Shah 'Abbas, and, therefore, in the beginning he was content with just Riza as his name."]

Then again he says :

سر آمد هنرمندان اصفهان در آنوقت آقا رضا بوده که لقب عباسی را از نام شاه عباس بزرگ گرفته -

["One of the topmost artists of that time in Isphahan was Aqa Riza who had adopted the title of 'Abbasi after the name of Shah 'Abbas the Great."]

Now, from the above two quotations it will have become evident that :

(1) Aqa Riza also used the title 'Abbasi.
(2) The title 'Abbasi was adopted after 1020 A.H.
(3) The title was after the Emperor's name.

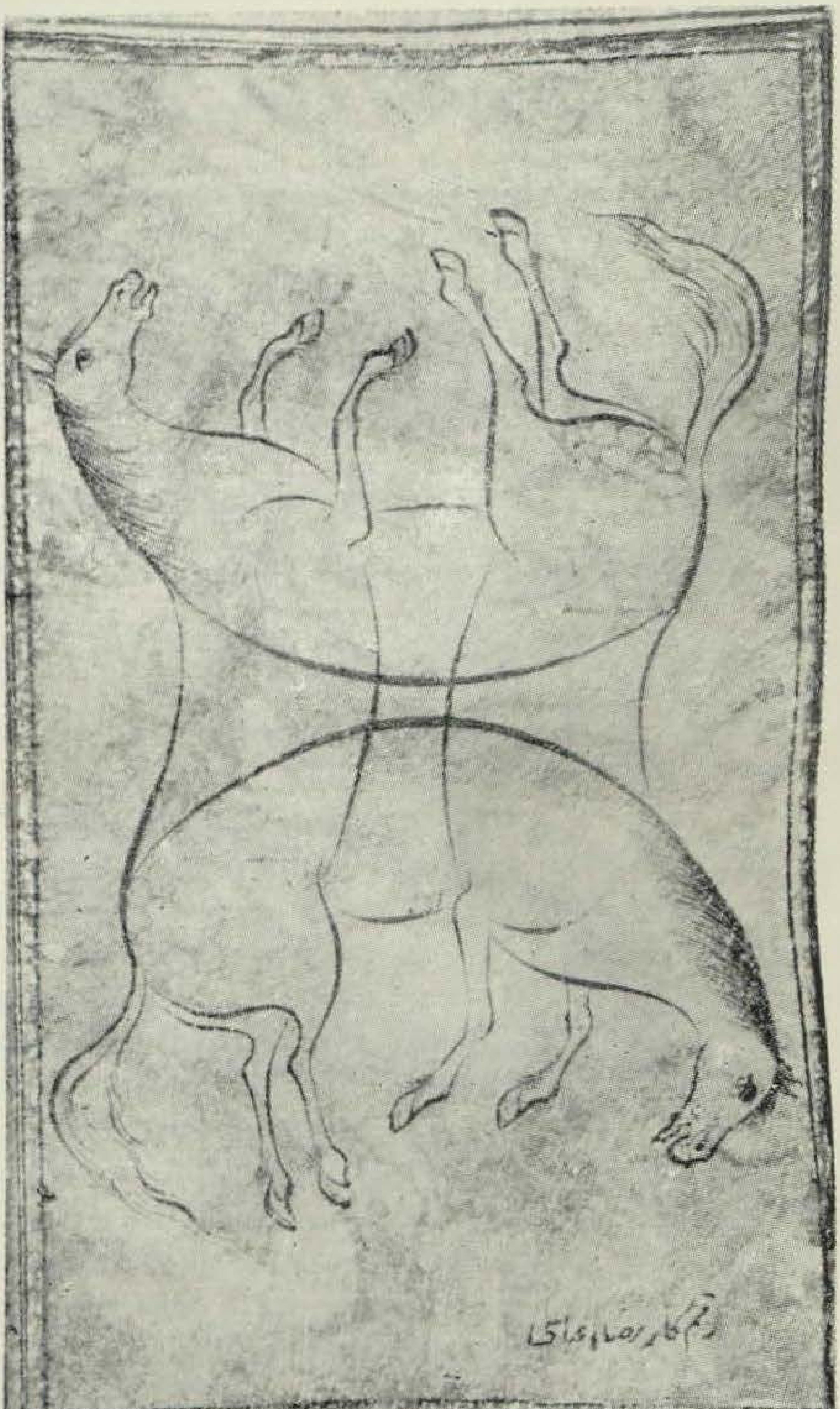
This is not correct, because : (*a*) Aqa Riza did not call himself by the title 'Abbasi. He had no reason to do so. He was not in the good books of Shah 'Abbas the Great, and had fled to India, as will be presently shown. (*b*) Aqa Riza was not in Iran in 1020. He was in India during the time of Akbar the Great. It is, therefore, Riza-i 'Abbasi

who signed his name as Riza-i 'Abbasi on his pictures, but never as Aqa Riza. Picture No. 1 reproduced here was drawn in 1007 and the place of its drawing was Meshed. These two things are established from this picture in favour of Riza-i 'Abbasi.

The period of Shah Abbas's reign is also 985-1038 A.H., which approximates with the period of Riza-i 'Abbasi which we have estimated. Shah'Abbas the Great, like Emperor Jahangir, was also an artist himself. Painting was his pastime. The art of Riza-i 'Abbasi at this time had developed to a great height and he was attracting the attention of connoisseurs. His drawings were truly representative of the following attribute : "In human drawing of calligraphist nature lines are suggestive of a joyous play of the moulding outlines of the human body. Without taking the help of the shades, a line gradually growing to a suitable breadth towards the centre, in the form of a muscle fibre, suggests the roundness of a limb and seems to be full with the property of life."[8] Just ponder over these words and look at Picture No. 1 again, and the other two reproduced here. You will find the truth in this statement depicted in his pictures.

Riza-i 'Abbassi had attained such a fame, that many an artist who came afterwards adopted the title 'Abbasi after him. As an instance may be cited the name of Shafi 'Abbasi. Dr. M.A. Chaghatai suspects him to be the son of Riza-i 'Abbasi, but I have not come across any evidence in support of it. Dr. Chaghatai, however, thinks correctly that "his style clearly bears a Western influence." I feel that Riza-i 'Abbasi was the only person after Maulana Shaikh Muhammad Sabzwari to have popularised in Iran the style of painting after the Western maner. From the dates given above of the period of Riza-i 'Abbasi's life, I am inclined to stretch it back by another ten years and make it 985-1038, and not 995-1038 A.H.! This would make him twenty-two years of age in the year 1007 when he painted Picture No. 1.

A few words more about the art of Riza-i 'Abbasi. Look at Picture No. 1 again. The posture of the scratching left hand and the



expression on the face are superb and meaningful. The main peculiarity of this drawing is that it is rendered in a calligraphic manner consisting of sure undulating curves combined with short curves.

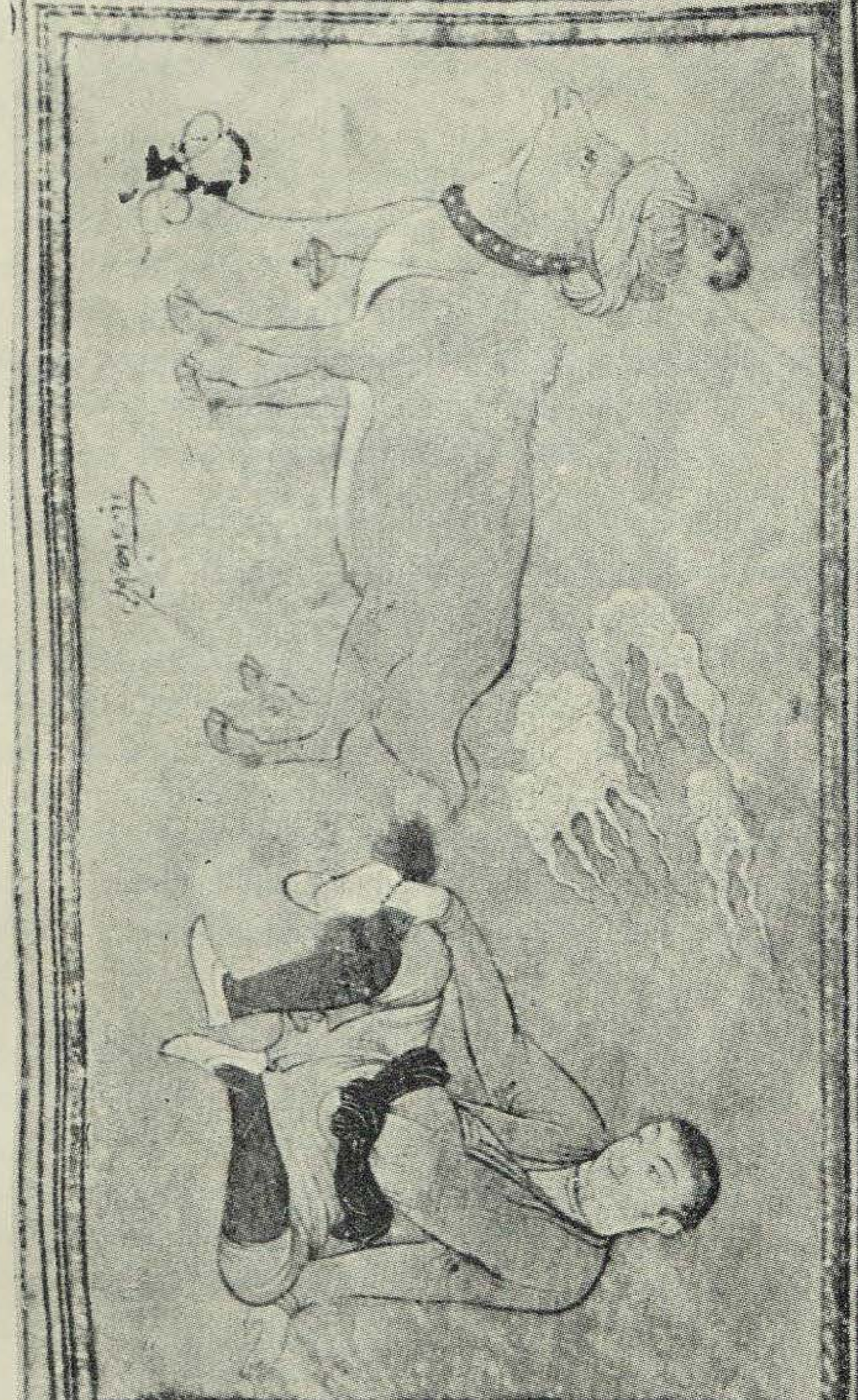
Look now at Picture No. 2. You will find four horses with two faces ! They are drawn in such a manner so as to look four. The lines and the strokes are so exquisite that they give a postural excellence to each pose. Except for the long back lines the rest of them are short. The two heads have been joined together in such a way that it gives the appearance of two streched horses and two bending ones. The two fully stretched horses are in a galloping mood, while the two bending horses are in a drinking posture. The figure in each is perfect, and there is no break in the anatomy of the animals. Except for the two long strokes the rest of them are small and short. The calligraphic strokes are alternately thick and thin in places, thus giving an appropriate shape to the muscles in action. It must not be construed from my statement that because his strokes are calligraphic, therefore, he was the calligraphist Aqa Riza or 'Ali Riza ! Not the least. But this is the peculiarity and beauty of Riza-i 'Abbasi's art of drawing.

Riza-i 'Abbasi's influence has been found in many works of art in Iran. The Chihil Sutun or the "Hall of Forty Pillars" in Ispahan, and the garden pavilion Ala Kapi or the "Sublime Portel" have been decorated in his style. Figures of Europeans have been introduced into these decorations! Many of the miniatures found in the *Shah Nameh* manuscripts reveal the influence of Riza-i 'Abbasi. Some authors have confused the two, Riza-i 'Abbasi and 'All Riza Tabrizi, while commenting on the art of these manuscripts. M.S. Dimand falls into this category. However, he is quite convinced about the artistic excellence of Riza-i 'Abbasi, and admits that his drawings are life-like: "His genre scenes and portraits are characterised by close observation of life." Look now at Picture No. 3. Pictures No. 1 and 3 are amply illustrative of this description. The third picture shows a humorous but relaxing attitude of a sheep-owner, who has let

loose his sheep in order to relax himself near by. A further humorous touch has been given to the picture by placing a turban on the head of the sheep. The sheep itself is a peculiar combination of a cow and a sheep, as would appear from the hoofs and the legs, the neck and the fat tail of the animal. Even the face is a mixed one. I would not be surprised if this picture is a sort of a cartoon drawn in lighter vein! Pictures No. 2 and 3 are drawn on the peritoneum of a deer and hence look shrivelled.

Controversy of Signatures

All the three pictures are signed. Pictures with signatures are also reproduced in other books of Persian art, and in reproductions in learned dissertations. Three types of signatures are found, e.g. (*a*) Riza, (*b*) Riza-i 'Abbasi, and, (*c*) Aqa Riza. Let me first discuss the signatures on the pictures reproduced here, as they have so far remained unpublished. The peculiarity of the signature of Riza-i 'Abbasi is that he is in the habit of joining the R with Z (رضا). This is clearly discernible in Picture No. 1. In Pictures No. 2. and 3, although they are not exactly joined, one can see they are in the process of joining. In figure 29 on page 54 of his book, M.S. Dimand has reproduced two pictures of the artist which are both signed. On both the pictures, the artist has signed as follows : رقم کمینه رضاء عباسی, which means "drawn by the humble Riza-i 'Abbasi." In Pictures of No. 2 and 3 reproduced here, he has signed as رقم کار رضاء عباسی which again means "drawn by Riza-i 'Abbasi" or the "work of Riza-i 'Abbasi." Now, on page 523 of the *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* a miniature of Riza-i 'Abbasi has also been reproduced. Here also he signed as رقم کمینه رضاء عباسی. The name Riza, in Picture No. 1, in the pictures reproduced by Dimand and in the one just mentioned from *Karnameh Buzurgan-i Iran* is written in exactly the same manner and is absolutely identical. Dr. M. A. Chaghatai in his article mentioned above has also reproduced two miniatures : one signed as آقا رضاء and the other as رقم کمینه رضاء عباسی. The picture of Aqa Riza is that of a mystic. In this the word 'Riza" is signed in an entirely



different maner, the R and Z being distinctly separate. The second picture of a "Youth Reading" bears a signature which is identical with the signature of Riza-i 'Abbasi which I have demonstrated above.

The influence of Riza-i 'Abbasi on the Iranian paintings, as I have mentioned above, has been considerable, especially during the two centuries which followed him. We find that he was being imitated by eminent painters like Yusuf, Kassim and Mu'in. D. Barnett of the British Museum[9] says, "His dominating influence, especially in living drawings, which is often most charming and expressive, lasted right through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

I would like here to devote a few more words to the other two artists, *viz.*, Aqa Riza and 'Ali Riza. 'Ali Riza, I have stated above, was a calligraphist and remained in Iran all his life, while Aqa Riza, besides being a painter, also dabbled in calligraphy. 'Ali Riza came from Tabriz. He was a master of Nasta'liq style of writing, and was also quite at home with Naskh. It was he who decorated the "Ala Kapi" with his magnificant calligraphy. He also decorated the interior of the dome of Lutfullah Mosque in Isphahan. His decoration of the Masjid-i Shah in Isphahan bears the date 1025 A.H. His life is traceable only up to the year 1038 A.H. The date of his death is not known.

Aqa Riza is the figure upon whom *'Alam Ara-i 'Abbasi* has dwelt at some length. According to him he hailed from Kashan. But Jahangir in his *Tuzk* states that he came from Herat. It is probable that when he came to India he may have been at the time of his departure staying at Herat. It is worthwhile quoting fully from *'Alam Ara-i 'Abbasi*, and then analyse for a while the implications of his statement. He says :

مولانا اصغر علی کاشی استاد بیقرینه و مصور پاکیزه ساخت در پرداخت
و رنگ آمیزی منفرد و در کوه پردازی و درخت سازی از اقران در پیش بود

او نیز در خدمت سلطان ابراهیم میرزا می بود ـ در زمان میرزا اسمعیل از اصحاب کتاب خانه شد پسرش آقا رضا در فن تصویر و یکه و صورت چهره کشائی ترقی عظیم کرده عجوبه زمان گشت و در این عصر و زمان مسلم الثبوت است از جهات نفس بآن نزاکت قلم همیشه زور آزمائی ورزش کشتی گیری کرده از شیوه محفوظ بودی و از صحبت ارباب استعداد کناره جسته بآن طبقه الفت داشتی و در این عهد فی الجمله از آن هر زه درآئی باز آمده اما متوجه کار کمتر میشود او نیز بطریق صادق بیگ بد مزاج تنک حوصله سپرد اختلاط است ـ الحق استغنائی در طبعیتش هست در خدمت حضرت اعلیٰ ظل الٰهی مورد عواطف گزید و رعایتهای کلی یافت اما از اطوار ناهنجار صاحب اعتبار نشد و همیشه مفلس و پریشان حال است ـ

["Maulana 'Ali Asghar of Kashan was an incomparable master and an accomplished painter; as an artist and colourist he was unique and unsurpassed by his contemporaries in drawings of streets and trees. He also took service with Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, and in the time of Isma'il Mirza was on the staff of the Library. His son, Aqa Riza, became the marvel of the age in the art of painting and unequalled in these days. In spite of the delicay of his touch, he was so uncultured that he constantly engaged in athletic practices and wrestling and became infatuated with such habits. He avoided that society of men of talents, and gave himself up to the association of such low persons. At the present time he has repented for such idle frivolity a little, but he pays very little attention to his art, and like Sadiq Beg he has become ill-tempered, peevish and unsocial. In the service of His Majesty, the Shadow of God, he has been the reciptient of favours and consideration, but on account of his evil ways he has not taken warning and consequently he is always poor and in distress."]

To me it appears that his poverty and degradation in the eyes of Shah 'Abbas was the cause of his leaving the court of Iran and seeking his fortunes elsewhere in India. This had happened before 1014 A.H., which is the date of Akbar the Great, for he arrived with his son during the lifetime of Akbar. It is stated in the *Karnameh*

Buzurgan-i-Iran.

بالآخر بار سفر بسته به هندوستان رفت و بخدمت "جلال الدین اکبر" پیوست و پس از سالی چند که اکبر وفات یافت "جهانگیر پادشاه" (۱۰۱۴-۱۰۳۷) ویرا مشمول عنایت و التفات فرمود و او و پسرش "ابوالحسن" که در نقاش تربیت عظیم کرد در خدمت این پادشاه نوازش بسیار رفتند ---- وهم در هندوستان این پدر و پسر وفات یافتند -

["At last he proceeded on a travel to India and got himself attached to the court of Jalal-ud-Din Akbar. And after some years when Akbar had died, Jahangir Padshah (1014-1037) turned a benevolent eye on him. And he and his son Abul Hasan who was a well-trained artist were well rewarded in the service of this king...... And the father and the son died in India and were buried there."]

From the above two accounts it will have become clear that it was Aqa Riza who came to India and not Riza-i 'Abbasi. Further, Riza-i 'Abbasi became associated with the court of Shah 'Abbas after which he called himself by the name of 'Abbasi. Aqa Riza did not do so.

Portrait of Riza-i 'Abbasi

Dr. M.A. Chaghatai, in his learned article referred to above, says: "There exist three portraits of Riza-i 'Abbasi the painter by his pupil Mu'in Musawwar, made on different occasions, and at the request of different persons, as we learn from the inscriptions which they bear ; they are all dated between 1084 and 1087 A.H."

I reproduce here one of those portraits. See Picture No. 4. It has been taken from the article of Dr. Behrami referred to above. My reading of the inscription slightly varies from that of Dr. Chaghatai's. This is how I read it :

شبیه مرحمت و مغفرت پناهی مرحومی جنت مکانی استادم رضا مصوری عباسی رحمة الله و الغفران بتاریخ سنه ۱۰۴۰ تقال شده بود و بتاریخ پنجم شهر

صفر - - - سنه ۱۰۸۲ بیادگار جهت مرقع با تمام رسید مبارک باد شقه معین مصور غفرالله زنوبه -

The version of Dr. Chaghatai runs as follows :

شبیه مرحمت و مغفرت پناهی مرحوم جنت مکان استادم رضا مصور عباسی علیه الرحمة و الغفران بتاریخ ۱۰۴۳ - - - ۱۰۸۲ بیار کار بجهت مرقع با تمام رسید مبارک باد مشقه معین مصور غفرالله زنوبه -

Variations have been marked by lines. It is apparent that Mu'in started this picture in the lifetime of Riza-i 'Abbasi, but completed it at a much later date. Mu'in himself lived long after Riza, and in a pricture of his preserved in the Tehran Museum, we find that he completed it in the year 1097 A.H. His works are also available which are dated 1110 A.H.

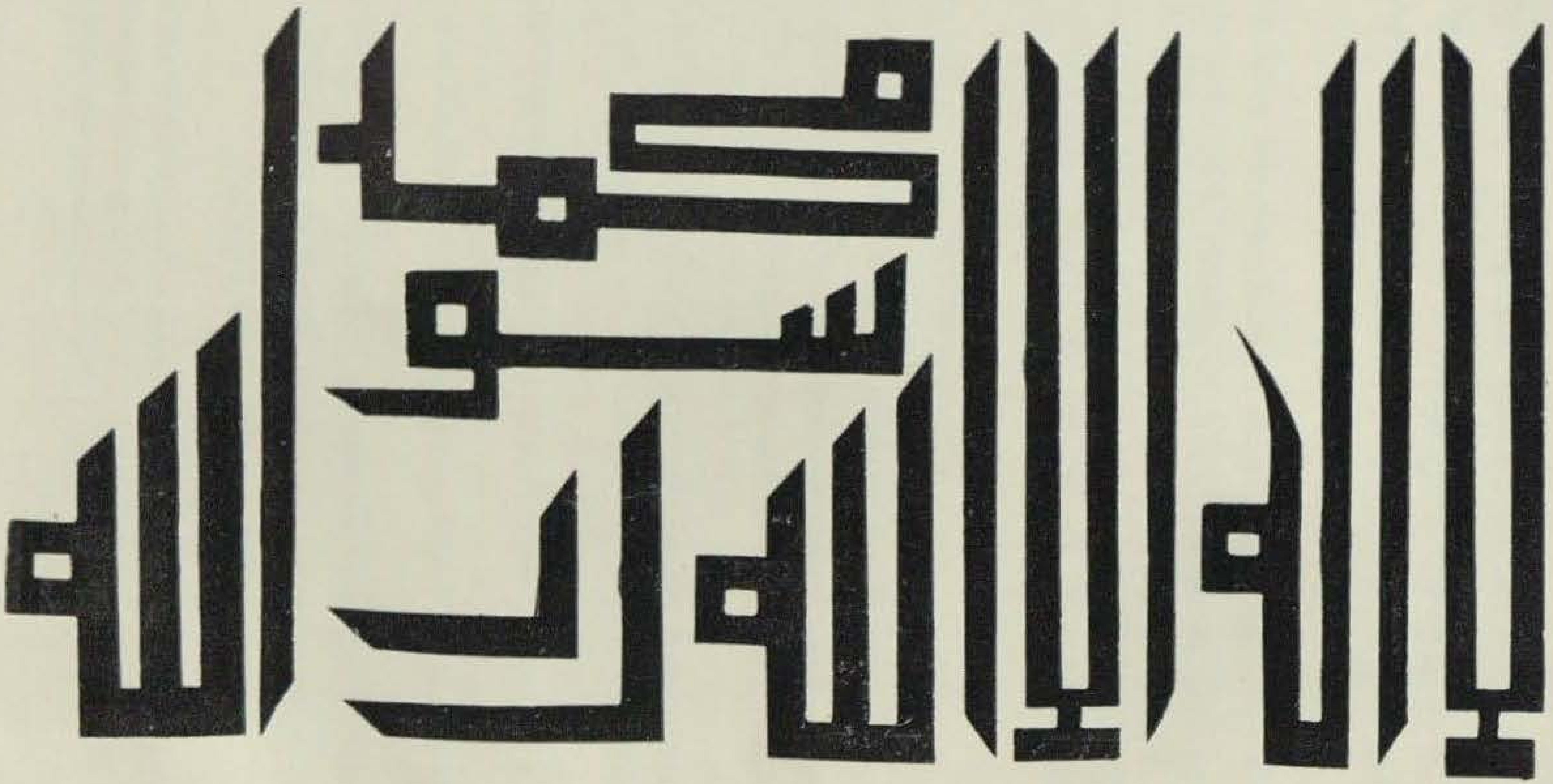
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خط کوفی



5. MUSLIM CALLIGRAPHY

By
Professor Dr. Muhammad Baqir

CALLIGRAPHY is one of the most refined arts cultivated and practised by Muslims. It was more esteemed than that of painting and flourished for over 12 centuries in various parts of the Muslim world, including the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It was begun and carried on in its early stages by the Arabs, but received its highest fulfiment at the hands of the Persians.

The Arabs had a system of writing in Pre-Islamic days. It had styles: monumental and cursive. The cursive style of the old Arabic script used on soft material, like leather, parchment, etc., existed prior to the monumental style, which was more developed and was used on harder material like camel bones, potsherds, stone and wood. Both the scripts were derived from Nabathean and Syriac characters, which themselves are ultimately traceable to the Phoenician of the eight century B. C. It (Phoenician), was termed Himayrictic, Himyar being the town where it was current before the advent of Isalm.

The early style of Arabic script was Kufic, named after the city of Kufa in Iraq. Although this variety has been traced to about 100 years before the foundation of this town (17/638), yet it remains fact that this particular way of writing was officially made use of.

Kufic characters were used during a period of 500 years for inscriptional purposes and for copying the Holy Quran. The main features of the Kufic mode of writing are its vertical and oblique lines, and, it reached its extereme angular character by the end of the 2nd century of the Hijra. Thenceforward the rounder script begins to curb it to softer curves.

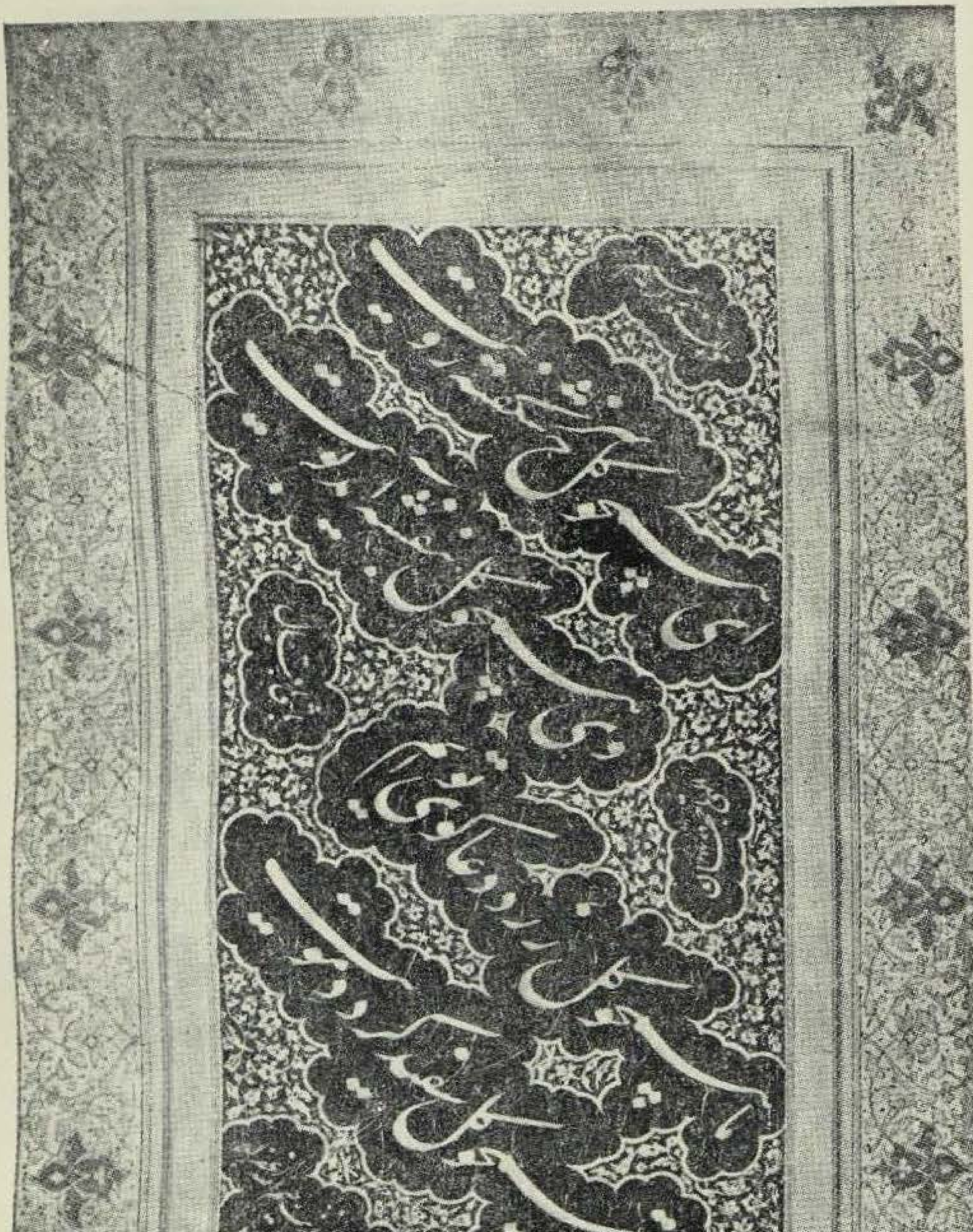
The earliest Quran, and the only eight century copy, with a a date 168 A.H. (784/5 A.D.), is in the Cairo llbrary. Most of the Abbasid Qurans are of the ninth century. They are written on parchment and show thick and rounded Kufic letters with short verticals and exaggerated horizontals. This Kufic was used in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia during the ninth century and part of the tenth.

Different styles of Kufic developed gradually. Abdul Aswad (69 A.H), a disciple of Hazrat Ali, is reported to have improved the calligraphy of the Quran and introduced vowel marks in the form of dots. His system was followed for about a century. His disciples improved upon his style. Qutba is the next great calligraphist who is said to have invented four styles of the Kufic. After him we hear of Kalid (96/715), who wrote the golden inscription in the Prophet's Mosque.

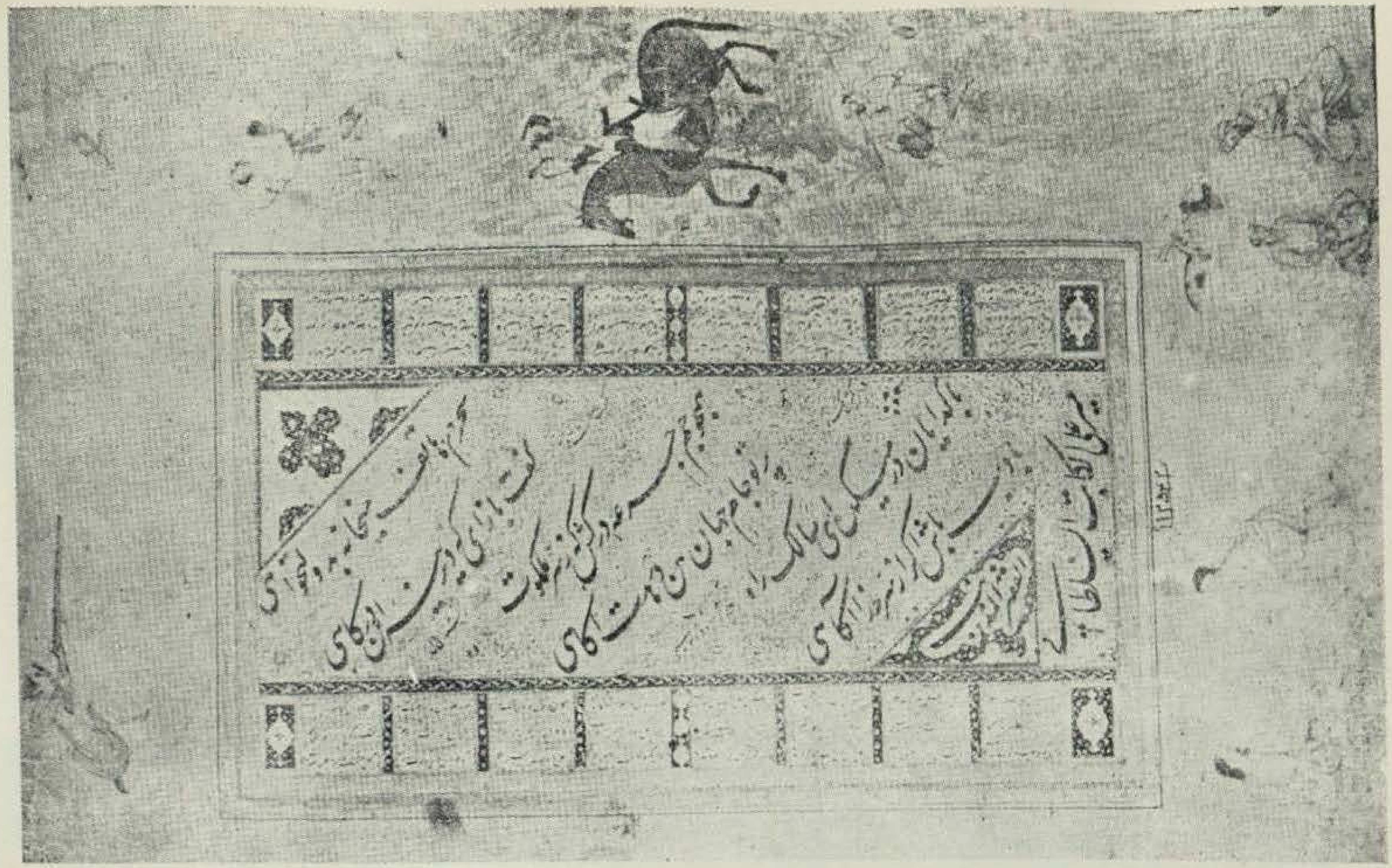
The Kufic reached its excellenee in the calligraphist Ibn Muqla (338 A.H.), who was a renowned artist of the reign of Al-Qahir Billah, the Abbasid. He is said to have invented the six main styles, *viz*, riqa, naskh, mohaqiq, tauqi, suls and raihan that prevailed after the Kufic lost its charm for the people.

The round variety of the script which had been developing unnoticed under the shadow of Kufic came to recognised as the script of the State by the beginning of the tenth century, when it was given the distinctive name of Naskh. It had incorporated into itself all those orthographical improvements that had been worked out in the Kufic, and had all the vowel marks, punctuation and diacritical signs.

Naskh developed different forms in different countries. The one known generally as Maghribi, *i.e.*, the Western is the earliest variety and is drawn directly from the Kufic of the tenth century, independent of the later Naskh styles.






میر علی الکاتب السلطانی

Sometimes during the 13th century there developed in Iran a form of writing known as Ta'liq in which the characters show a tendency to slope downward from right to left. Ta'liq was invented by mixing the riqa and the tauqi and the fact is recorded by Maulana Jami who says:

کاتبان را هفت خط باشد بطرز مختلف
ثلث و ریحان و محقق نسخ و توقیع و رقاع
بعد ازان تعلیق آن خط است ، کش اہل عجم
از خط توقیع استنباط کردند اختراع

In the 15th century, under the rule of the Timurids, the arts of the book reached their height and calligraphy attained the importance of a great art. One of the most famous masters of the 15th century was Khwaja Mir 'Ali of Tabriz, who is credited with the invention of Nasta'liq by mixing the Naskh with the Ta'liq. And that is why it was called Nasta'liq. This is a highly developed and more elegant form of cursive writing, with features of both Naskh and Ta'liq, which came into general use with the 15th century.

As the time passed the Naskh character gradually came to be used in the writing of Arabic and the Nasta'liq was employed for writing Persian. The Urdu language adopted Nasta'liq under the influence of Persian, while other languages of the present West Pakistan like Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Brauhi and Baluchi adopted the Nashk character to start with. The Punjabi, Baluchi and Brauhi are now mostly being written in Nasta'liq, while Sindhi and Pashto stick to Naskh.

Talking of things nearer home it must be mentioned that the art of calligraphy flourished under the various dynasties of Muslim and non-Muslim rulers in power in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from the time of the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazna down to the times of Ranjit Singh. Most of the rulers were great patrons of the art and some of them were themselves fine calligraphists. Firishta

has recorded that Sultan Ibrahim, a grandson of Sultan Mahmud, excelled in calligraphy and transcribed two copies of the Holy Quran.

The Mughul Emperors were great patrons of the art. Ta'liq flourished during the period of Akbar and later on calligraphist invented shikastah by mixing Nasta'liq with Ta'liq. This was also called Diwani (official) because it was used in the Secretariat.

Even in the days of the decline of the Mughul empire and the rise of the Sikhs the art of calligraphy continued to flourish. It is recorded that calligraphist, who had spent many years making a copy of the Holy Quran and has failed to get an adequate reward for his labours, turned up at Lahore to try and sell it to Faqir 'Aziz-ud-din, the Foreign Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Faqir praised the manuscript very much but expressed inablilty to pay for it. Ranjit Singh overheard the argument, summoned the calligraphist to his presence and after scrutinizing the valuable manuscript acquired it for his private collection. It might be mentioned in the passing that a couple of years ago the *Panjabi* Abadi Academy acquired an autograph copy of the Diwan of famous Persian poet, Waqif Lahori. This manuscript once belonged to the library of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Calligraphy played an important part in education of students in different countries ruled by Muslim rulers and was considered a sign of culture. The Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent also competed most successfully with their counterparts in other parts of the world and infused a great interest also in Sikhs and Hindus. Furthermore, they actually invented certain new forms and styles which may be called as decorative art. Some of these are known as Gulzar, Ghubar, Mahi Sumbul, Raihan, Pechan and Nakhun.

Calligraphy, like all fine arts, is beyond definition. The points of its beauty cannot be brought out just by analyzing its original components. Particularly it is difficult to understand or appreciate

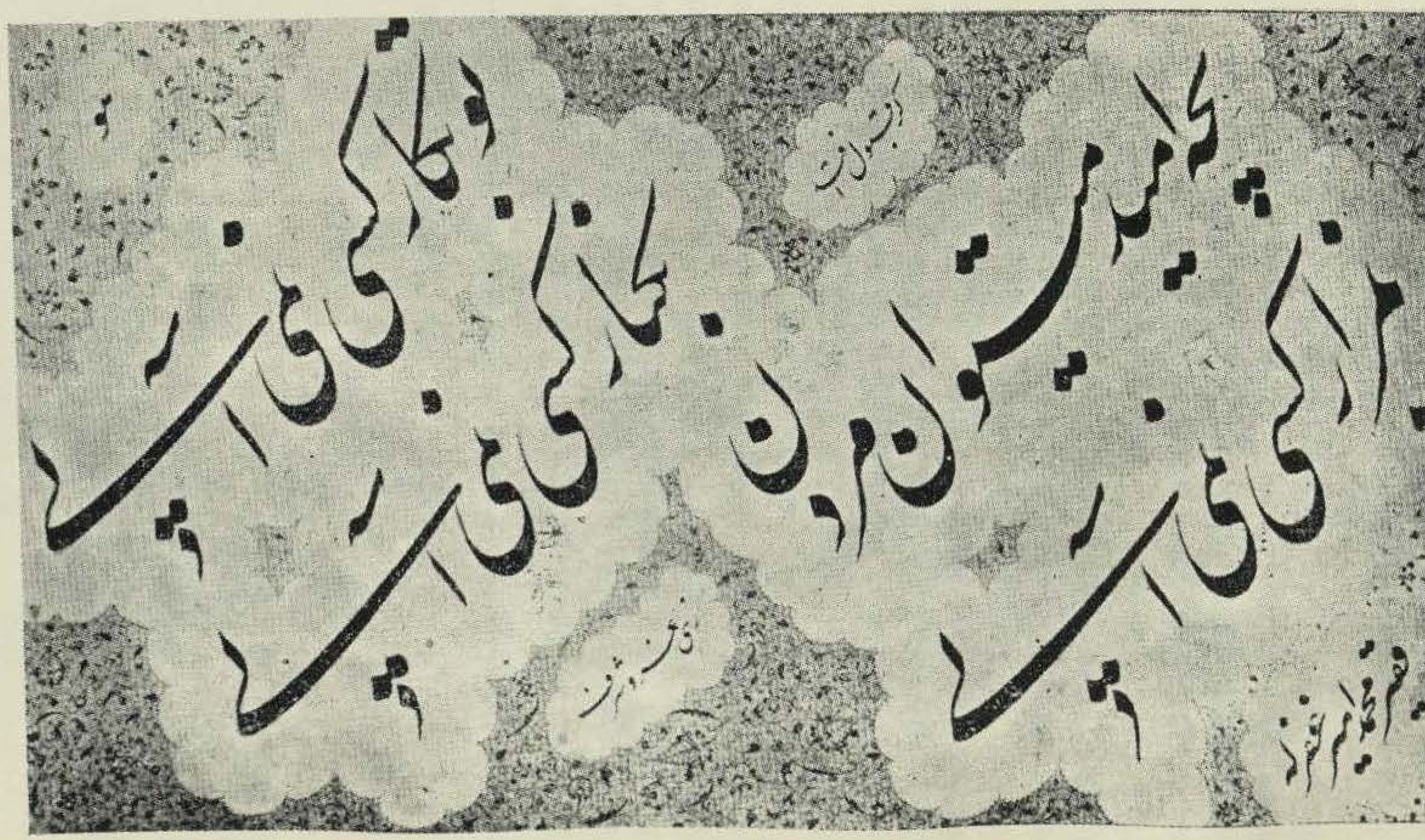
بگو طوطی حدیث پنجتن پاک
که وصفِ مصطفی حق گفت لولاک

کتبه محمد نور خان



the decorative values and artistic significance without referring the original specimens to their proper setting or background. I will, therefore, end this introduction by inviting your attention to the original specimens reproduced here to illustrate various characters, styles and forms. The descriptive notes also give the names of known Katibs, and their periods.

12-G, Model Town, Lahore. M. BAQIR



6. SIGNIFICANT USE OF ARABIC SCRIPT BY PERSIANS NASTA'LIQ STYLE

By
Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghtai

MUSULMANS cultivated the art of Calligraphy both as a simple means of writing and as a decorative art. The Arabic script takes its origin from Arabia where the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, was born in A.D. 580. The latest researches have established that Arabic script already existed even much earlier than the Prophet himself. It is, however asserted that the Arabic script is the mostly used form of alphabetical writing in the modern world. The Arabic conquerors of the 7th and 8th centuries carrying with them the religion Islam and the Quran, brought the Arabic language and script to the expanse of territory which extends from India to Atlantic Ocean. The Arabic script spread even further than the language itself. It became in turn the official language of Persia and Otoman empires. It was carried to the Western-Central and South-Eastern Russia and to Western Central Asia. It spread all over Africa. The Arabic alphabet was adopted, generally with some necessary modification to such diverse languages as Slavnic, Spainish, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew and others. It drove out of use a number of scripts derived from the old Syriac as well as the Persian writing.

Ibn Nadim (d. 995) has written in his *Al-Fihrist* about the virtues of the Arabic script and the praise for the Arabic speech. Besides it, he has also discussed the Persian *Qalam*—style of writing and he has

reproduced some illustrations of its early pre-Islamic specimens which are quite different from the current Arabic script. But Persians accepted Islam as their faith just after its conquest during the days of Omar, the Great, (644).

This whole outlook changed the ancient system of the theological references. The Pahlavi script was forced to give way to the Arabic and a knowledge of the Arabic language became indispensable to the converts for religious purposes and the correct reading of the Quran. Islam itself became coloured in Persia with the patriotic feeling. Arabic became the official language of the state. A great number of Persians made a name by their writing in Arabic. But in their own language there remained for Persians the art and literature. Real progress towards Persian language began under the Samanids (999) who traced their origin to the Sasanians. They proved good warriors and conquered Khurasan along with a large part of present Persia. Samanids found time to concern themselves with art and letters and they gathered round them a brilliant company of poets and historians to sing their praise and chronicle their victories. Firdousi may be considered a product of the patronage of the Samanids' patronage, as the Shahnama was first offered to the Samanid ruler. But the Samanids were outthrown by the house of Ghazana, an empire which stretehed from Lahore to Isfahan and dominated Baghdad itself.

It was during the fourth century of Islam when the Ghaznawid dynasty permanently occupied the whole of the Northern part of the subcontinent of India with Lahore as their capital or the centre of their activities. The Persian language was automatically introduced here, which had replaced the Sanskrit, the indigenous language of Indian people. It means that at Lahore through the patronisation of the Ghaznawid rulers, an early school of Persian literature was flourished which contained a marvellous galaxy of early standard Persian poets of the school of Firdousi, who are today considered as the classicals poets of Persia. The history of language feels proud of them. Awfi had given in his *Lubab al-Lubab*, a chapter of Lahore poets of

the Ghaznawid period.

Soon after it, the Saljuqs, a family of Turkoman chieftains yielding to the pressure from the extreme North attacked and over-threw the Ghaznawid regime, when the Ghouri Sultans overtook the country. It is a fact that since then, the Musulmans ruled over the sub-continent of India continually up to the middle of the nine-teenth century of the Christian era. During this whole period of Musulmans' rule over India for nine centuries, the court language throughout remained Persian. It all means that all over Iran, Central Asia and India a uniform atmosphere of Islamic culture through the Persian language prevailed for centuries.

It is a pity that the non-Muslim masses of India neither acknow-ledged the centuries old impact of Musulmans over India nor they recognised them as the inhabitants of India. Although they contributed originally towards Art, Architecture and minor arts. And above all the Persian language and literature which they introduced here, was a great asset in this country. It is a fact that their own original language Sanskrit went completely into oblivion. However, the beauties and cultural values of the Islamic calligraphy which mostly flourished here in the shape of Nasta'liq style from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward were originally indebted to Persian and Khurasan.

The brief history of Islamic or Arabic calligraphy is this that in the very beginning the style of writing Arabic alphabet, began to be called *Kufi*, because it took its origin at Kufa which is also sometimes mentioned as the script of the state. It had some quadrangular feature as it displays. It was due to Ibn Muqla (d. 939), the well known calligraphist and a minister of the Abbasid Khalifas of Baghdad, who had replaced the Kufi style of writing with the new *Khat al-Mansub* because he had devised some principles of writing the Arabic alphabet. But the general way of transcribing the Arabic script always called as the *Naskhi* style of writing. It was through the efforts of Ibn Bawwab, (d. 1023) an able pupil and follower of

Ibn Muqla (d. 939) the Arabic script attained a further elegence. But at last it was Yaqut Musta'simi (d. 1296) who excelled all his contemporaries in writing the Arabic script and then the art of Islamic calligraphy itself reached its climax, who particularly wrote the manuscripts of the Holy Quran. There were about a dozen direct pupils of Yaqut Musta'simi who also gave a great rise to the Arabic writing and they worked in different parts of the Islamic world.

It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of Islam when the Persian Sufi poets also began to glitter in the world through their writings which produced admirers all over the world. It was also necessary that scribes for the Persian language would have been created. It was a very hard time in Central Asia, when the Mongols also created a turmoil all over Asia. Arabic ceased to be the official language and gave way to Persian. In many states Il-Khan rulers were appointed. It means that Persian became a distinct feature in the routine of writing the Arabic script which also naturally created a necessity of making a distinction in the general appearance of Arabic and Persian languages. Rather it had become an imperative that the Persian writing must get distinction from the Arabic while reading these languages. So it had become necessary that in the way of writing some change must take place so that their would be facility in writing and reading these languages.

But the Persian elegance and the progressive refinement of all arts that mostly began to appear during the twelfth century of the Christian era, were seen reflected in the shape of so many varieties or styles of writing the Arabic script, which are called the names of the styles of the Arabic script. Because the experts and the connoisseurs wished to satisfy their vanity of aesthetics. It is a fact that from the beginning the utmost resources of a calligrapher and his fellow drafts-men were called into play for the ornamentation of the Quran. Here both opportunity and duty called for the ultimate effort. The Quran was the sole way of life and salvation. The Muslim calligrapher is always fortunate in having at his disposal an alphabet more perfectly

adaptable to artistic use than any other system of letters. The Arabic script supplied beautiful verticals that may be rhythmically massed and at the same time interwoven bases that give the composition balance and a visible fluidity. The strokes, the spacing and the size all permit of a vide range of expressiveness. This action of free artistic movements by the calligrapher is bound to meet this desired definite expression within the space at his disposal to satisfy his artistic bent of mind, which created so many styles of Muslim Calligraphy.

The state of affairs particularly among the Persians where human activities mostly follow aesthetics, created so many styles or varieties of using the Arabic script for their Persian expression. These styles have been differently named according to their shape and action. They occupy definite categories of Islamic calligraphy. But two varieties which are named as the : *Naskh* and *Ta'liq*, were combined and attained a definite different shape and appearance. It came into being by the close of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. The experts called this combination as the *Nasta'liq* style. Although some writers like Abu'l-Fazl, have asserted that this form of writing existed much earlier than the fourteenth century when it is claimed that it was invented by Mir Ali of Tabriz. It is a fact that according to the statement of various writers, Mir Ali is credited with the invention of this style, who was working in Baghdad at the court of Sultan Ahmad Jalair (d. 1410).

Generally two works of Mir Ali of Tabriz are mentioned, namely the manuscript of the *Kulliyat* of Khwaja Kirmani with very fine miniatures by Naqqash Junaid Sultani and the manuscript of the *Diwan* of Sultan Ahmad Jalair's poetry. These both the MSS are preserved in London British Museum (Add. 18. 113) and Washington USA Freer Art Gallery.

As pointed out above, this *Nasta'liq* style is based on a system in which each and every letter of the alphabet has rules of its formation and these letters are generally calligraphed within parallel lines.

The roundness of some of these letters has quite distinct position and varies from other letters. Rather letters are independent. Sultan Ali Mashhadi, a great master of this style is regarded a great exponent of this style of writing. He was the pupil of Maulana Ja'far, a pupil of Mir Ali, and he has also composed a treatise on the art of calligraphy in Persian verse. He says that the charm of the calligraphic writing is contained in the structure of strokes of the pen, curves of letters and rhytham thus created by these letters. This style owing to its application is mostly confined to Persian language which got a systematic recognition and it regularly came into vogue. A large number of Mir Ali's followers, thus, created and specially Maulana Ja'far and Maulana Azhar are regarded his direct pupils.

The bginning of the fifteenth century marks the rise of the Timurid princes who gave a new era to Art and Letters. Amir Timur's successor, Shah Rukh immediately changed his seat of government from Samarqand to Herat. And particularly the literary taste and artistic bent of mind of these princes produced marvellous treasures of the art of painting and calligraphy.

Dr. F. R. Martin, bears the following eloquent testimony in his monumental work on *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey.*

"The Timurids soon began to lend compatible with the wealth their fathers and forefathers had emassed during their war, and tried to squander it as quickly as possible. History constantly repeats itself. The life of these rulers forms a true epic. They recall to mind the old Paladins in the 'Chnason de Geste' passing into the space of a short time from the splendour of a throne to a position of the utmost decay. They were however, the most artistic princes that ever reigned in Persia. If the conquering armies of Timur destroyed many a work of art, his successors brought into being works of art that otherwise would never have been created. Does not Samarqand redeem the loss of many a town destroyed by Timur. What he

destroyed was already of itself denied to fall, and Timur simply gave the moral thrust. He was not the destroyer we are accustomed to consider him but the master who arranged matters with an iron hand. He formed a link in the chain of natural development, and from his realm arose the Persia of later times, his successors bringing Persian art to its most flourishing stage. There Timurids were no barbarious, indeed, everything goes to show that they were highly civilised and refined men, real scholars loving art for the sake of art alone and without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their court poets. Sultan Husayn Mirza was no bad poet and his odes, written in Turkey, are far better than those of many celebrated poets. He also wrote in Arabic and competed with celebrated Jami. The most refined style of life prevailed, in certain respects recalling to mind that the European princes of the same time, as that of France during the 18th century, although it was far more literary than either.

"Baisunghar, Shah Rukh, Ulugh Beg and Sultan Husayn Mirza were bibliophiles, not surpassed by the Duke of Burgany, or by king of Rene' of Anjou, their contemporaries and were far more illustrious than the celebrated French and Italian book lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only they collected books but they created them......."

It requires a vast space to mention the gems and masterpieces of the Persian art of calligrahy and miniature-painting which were then produced under the patronage of these Timurid princes. Specially two great masters, namely Sultan Ali Mashhadi in the domain of Nasta'liq calligraphy, about whom we have already mentioned above and Kamalu'd-Din Bihzad in the domain of miniature-painting, are worthy of note. Besides them, a large number of artists was then created who held very high positions in different parts of the country. These arts then had undoubtedly

reached their climax. Sultan Husayn Mirza Baiqra, the great admirer and patron of these artists died in 1405. He was by nature a peaceful monarch which is also a great reason that these arts were nourished there. But his kingdom did never go far beyond the confines of Herat. Just after his death a political turmoil prevailed all over the country. After him, however, the state of anarchy was ended by the rise of the Persian Prince Shah Ismail who founded the new kingdom of the native Safawi dynasty with its capital at Tabriz.

Shah Isma'il Safawi had also special regard for these arts and their artists. When he conquered Herat, he had taken with him several artists to Tabriz. Specially worthy of note among them are Shah Mahmud of Nishapur and Kamal-ud-Din Bihzad, who actually created a school at Tabriz. It is generally mentioned that when Shah Isma'il was at war against the Turks in the plains of Chalderan, he had specially arranged protection for these two artists to save them from the dangers of war. This was the period when the *Nasta'liq* style of calligraphy had reached its climax. A special manuscript of the Khamsa Nizami was prepared by the Safawi court artists. This mansucript is still preserved in the British Museum and it was specially calligraphed by Shah Mahmud of Nishapur.

But this was the period when the *Nasta'liq* style was not so far known in Pakistan-India. Just at the same time Babur entered here and established the Mughul empire in 1526. He himself was a great admirer of arts and specially the Nasta'liq style of writing was introduced by him in the sub-continent. A manuscript of his Memoirs is still preserved in the library of the Alwar State (India) which was specially prepared for the prince Humayun with some miniatures and was calligraphed by one Mulla Ali al-Katib at Agra. It is also a fact that Humayun, the successor of Babur was also a great admirer of arts but he could not have sufficient leisure to devote towards them. He himself used to keep his library always

with him even in his travels. It is mentioned that he had lost a superb MS. of the poetry of Maulana Hatifi which was written by Mulla Sultan Ali Mashhadi and illustrated by Bihzad. This sad incident had happened in Gujrat near Ahmadahad. But he had to fight against Sher Shah Suri and ultimately when he was helpless, he had to flee towards Iran to seek asylum with Shah Tahmasp at Tabriz. He stayed in Persia for many years, and left in 1554. On his was back he also stayed at Lahore. Bayazid Bayat has described his return with artist from Persia : which shows that great artists like Khwaja Abdu's-Samad Shirin Qalam, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi, Mulla Fakhr and others were with him.

It means that the latest trends in the art of calligraphy and painting were brought to the sub-continent by Humayun. It is also a fact that Humayun had planned an illustrated edition of the Dasatn-i-Amir Hamza which has entrusted to these artists. But unfortunately Humayun suddenly met with an accident and he died spontaneously in 1556. His son Akbar ascended the throne, strictly kept up all artistic routine just as left by Humayun.

In the domain of Nasta'liq style of calligraphy it looks necessary to mention here that Sind, which at present is a part of Pakistan, always remained a separate province in history. But it adjoins Persia having a common boundary line between these two countries and the cultural relations between them exist for centuries. Particularly within the domain of Nasta'liq calligraphy Shaikh Mirak Purani is credited, being a great expert, for introducing Nasta'liq style in Sind for the first time, as it has been mentioned by Ma'sum Bhakkari in his *History of Sind* (p. 197). Mirak Purani died here in 1556. But Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari himself was a great Nasta'liq writer (d. 1609). He was a great epigraphist in Nasta'liq style. These epigraphs are found in the sub-continent and Isfahan and other places. Similraly in other parts of Pakistan this style of calligraphy was introduced by many other great experts.

We have pointed out above that Babur founded here the Mughul

empire in 1526 and many experts had come along with him. Specially two great calligraphists *viz.*, Abdul Haye Munshi and his brother Abdulla Qanuni are worthy of note who originally belonged to Mashhad. But at the same time Shihab Mu'immai and Zain-al-Khwaja wrote the inscriptions of Humayun's mosque at Agra which was built by him before he had gone to Iran.

But a more detailed and systematic account of these Nasta'liq writers during the early Mughul rule in the sub-continent is given by Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari and thus a royal muraqqa (album) was prepared of its best specimens was compiled and he has also described them in his *Ruqa't*. Shaikh Faizi, the brother of Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl, composed verses in its praise and they also contain the chronogram of this album's compilation as the *Muraqqa-i-Be Mithl* (matchless album) which yields 1584. It was prepared at Lahore.

We have noted above with the refrence of the *Tazkirah* by Bayat that Khwaja Abdu's-Samad had accompanied Humayun when he came back from Iran. He originally belonged to Shiraz and he was already known as *Shirin Qalam* (Sweet Pen) for his writing of the Nasta'liq style. He was specially engaged by Humayun for the transcription of the text of the *Dasatan-i-Amir Hamza*. This whole manuscript is of a huge size (27×27 inches). A complete description of this edition is given by contemporary writers. Khwaja was also appointed a Mint-Master and lived at Lahore. His one son Khwaja Sharif also played the role of a superintendent of Akbar's atelier and he rose to the position of Amir-ul-Umara.

Maulana Mir Muhammad Baqir, known as the Zu'l-Kamalian, the father of the famous Nasta'liq writer, Mir Ali of Herat, had migrated to India and he had settled at Lahore. But Mir Ali's second son Mulla Baqir had also joined the service of Akbar. But I think that the great Nasta'liq writer Mulla Sultan Bayazid son of Mir Nizam Douri had already joined the service of Humayun and he was working

with Khawaja Abdus-Samad in the compilation of the *Dastan Mir Hamza*. Fortunately one manuscript of the Mathanawi Dewal Rani Khizr Khan of Amir Khusrow which was calligraphed in 1568 byMulla Sultan Douri, which is preserved in the library of Kapurthala State (India). This MS originally belonged to the library of Queen of Akbar Begam Salima Sultana Begam. It was also illustrated with miniatures. Sultan Bayazid Douri was honoured with the title of *Katib al-Mulk* by the state. Fortunately one important inscription is available in Nagaur (Rajputana) which was calligraphed by him and he has signed his name thus—'*Katib al-Mulk Douri*'. The mosque on which this epigraph was fixed, was built in 1559. Besides it, there were other Nasta'liq experts such as Muhammad Amir Mashhadi, Mir Husain Kalingi, Maulana Abdul Haye Maulana Abdur Rahim of Herat and Maulana Nizam of Qazwin, Muhammad Ashraf who had originally migrated from Mashhad, was working at the court of Akbar for the official documents. One great calligraphist Inayatullah of Shiraz was specially engaged in the transcription of the Razm Nama (Mahabharat), which fortunately exists in the library of the Raja of Jaipur and it was fully illustrated by the court artists of Akbar in 1588. Akbar lived at Lahore continuously for many years and many manuscripts were prepared during that period. There is a long list of those manuscripts which were prepared at Lahore. Muhammad Husain of Kashmir had specially come from there and joined the service of Akbar. He was the pupil of the celebrated Muhammad Husain of Tabriz. Similarly Abdulla Mishkin Qalam had come from Persia and joined the service of Akbar. One manuscript of the Diwan Hafiz was prepared at Lahore by one Mahmud bin Hasan of Nishapur. In short, there are many MSS which were prepared by these foreign artists at Lahore and they were patronised by the state.

Many illustrated and masterly calligraphed manuscripts were imported here from Persia which undoubtedly not only inspired the artists at the Mughul court but also they were considered a great asset in the library of the Mughul emperors. We mention only two out of them : the first MS is of the *Zafar Nama* of Sharfu'd-Din

Ali Yazdi which was fortunately transcribed by Sher Ali in 1467 and it was presented to Akbar by Jamal-ud-Din Anju at Agra and it bears twelve miniatures by Bihzad. Jahangir has mentioned specially in his autograph that this is the early work of Bihzad. It always remained in the library of Mughul emperors. The other manuscript is of the *Khamsa Nizami* which is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It was originally calligraphed by Maulana Azhar in 1474 at Tabriz. Munim Khan, a grand courtier of Akbar had presented to him at Lahore in 1587. Thus a large number of original manuscripts was collected in the Royal Library of Mughul emperors.

Jahangir succeeded his father in 1605 and he is regarded aesthete in the domain of arts. He always loved Persian Nasta'liq writing. He himself had collected a great album of his own choice which is divided to day in different collections. I have seen, a large part of it in the collection of Mr. A. C. Ardeshir, Poona and the Museum of Berlin. But a larger part of it has already been published by Drs. Kuhnel and Goetz. This Album contains a large number of the works in Nasta'liq style by Abdur Rahim Anbrin Qalam and Maulana Mir Ali of Herat. It is specially noted in Jahangir's Memoirs that Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan had presented to him a MS which was calligraphed by Mir Ali of Herat and he had accepted it with a great satisfaction.

Besides it, Jahangir had collected a large number of Persian MSS which were specially calligraphed in the Nasta'liq style of calligraphy and he himself put up on them his own autograph describing briefly the contents of the MSS. If we carefully collect such information from all such manuscripts from various collections of the world, I think a very comprehensive and authoritative account of Mughul patronisation of the arts of Persia will come before us. Shahjahan had ascended the throne after Jahangir (1627), who being so much devoted towards architecture, had kept up all the traditions which his father and grandfather had left. He enriched the building

of the Khusraw gardens at Allahbad which was specially built by Aqa Riza Musawwir who had come from Kashan and he had calligraphed its inscription in nasta'liq style. But Shah Jahan was very much pleased when Abdur Rashid Daylami had come to his court from Iran and he was the nephew of the well-known calligraphist Imad al-Hasani. Shahjahan had honoured him by giving a grand mansion in Lahore and he was also given the job of the Librarian of the state. It is a fact that Rashid Daylami had introduced this style with a little modification. Another great calligraphist Hakim Rukna had come to Shah Jahan who had prepared a MS. of the *Gulsitan* of Sa'di and he was very highly rewarded by Shahjahan and he went back to Iran.

Consequently I shall suggest that a very serious thesis should be undertaken by some serious student of some university of Pakistan and all the scattered information from various sources collected that how many manuscripts were brought here and they were specially kept in the library of the Mughul emperors. I am, at least, of the opinion that a very large number of original manuscripts existed in the library of the Mughuls. I have seen them in very remote corners of Europe, America and India. I am also of the opinion that the Mughul emperors had saved and preserved the Persian art of calligraphy and miniature-painting. Moreover, they saved them from being lost.

It is, however, evident that the Persian language was adopted here as the court language from the fourth century of Islam and it remained throughout as such until the British occupied the country who also kept this language in great reverence and still it is one of the classical languages of our study at the university. Besides it, the nasta'liq style of writing became so popular that it still goes on very active within Pakistan, and even other local vernaculars are written in the same style of calligraphy.

15-F-Gulberg (II) M. ABDULLAH CHAGHATAI
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MUSLIM ARTS OF THE BOOK IN IRAN AND INDO-PAK SUB-CONTINENT

By
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MUSLIMS are ahl-e-kitab or believers in the Book. The Prophet in his sermon on the occasion of Hajjat-al-Wida enjoined that he was leaving with the Muslims the book of God *i.e.* Holy Quran and if they held fast to that they would never fall into error. No wonder therefore if the Muslims commenced their arts with and devoted all their energies to the embellishment of the book. A positive discouragement of representational art in Islam also resulted in diverting their creative urge to the arts of the book. Muslims have been so fond of books that they established book academics and patronised the artists connected with book production. The scriptorium established by Rashid-ud-Din, Prime Minister of Ghazan Khan, in Tabriz and Baysonqur's academy in Herat provide two outstanding examples of their interest in book production. Bookshops run by scholars were common features in all Muslim cities and served as literary clubs. The profession was held in very high esteem.

In the beginning all arts of the book were used for the Holy Quran but soon commentaries of the Holy Quran, tradition of the Prophet, Jurisprudence, Ilm-al-Kalam etc. and then gradually all other varieties of books came into their purview. The arts of the book comprise calligraphy, illumination and illustration, painting

and book binding. With the enlargement of the scope started the specialisation and we find calligraphers, painters, illuminators and book binders devoted to their line of specialisation. Painting developed into an independent branch of art. Calligraphy however remained the most coveted branch of all the arts of the book. Calligraphers received honours elsewhere accorded to painters and their profession was esteemed above all other arts. Leading princes of the Muslim world practised calligraphy and became adepts in it.

Calligraphy

The art of calligraphy emerged from copying manuscripts in an age when printing was not yet invented. Although the main field of calligraphy always remained book production yet it was also frequently and successfully used in architecture, coinage, farmans or royal decrees and waslis or leaf specimens of calligraphy.

There are two principle styles of Muslim writing : a formal style with angular letters known as kufic and a cursive style with rounded letters called Naskhi. Kufic script, which owes its name to the city of Kufa in Iraq where it was invented some two centuries before Islam, is the oldest of Arabic calligraphic style. In the 8th century, Qetba first established the relative sizes of the letters, and in the 9th century Ustad Ahwal of Seistan composed a calligraphic canon in Baghdad.

The irregular occurrance of the vertical strokes of the letters became rhythmical in time. After about 750 this omnipresent irregularity was obviated by an accentuation of the horizontals and of curves swinging below the line, and often by a levelling of the strokes, producing a style known as "gliding" Kufic. In monumental script the form of each symbol became more squat and compact, and after the early 9th century letters terminated in a wedge shape.

In response to a feeling for density of surface ornament, a "foliate" Kufic came into vogue in the late 10th century. The spaces between the strokes were filled with plant elements. At first springing

organically from the characters themselves, this decoration was gradually enriched so as to become a decorative *rinceau foil* to the letters. The influence of the typically Islamic arabesque ornament is evident in this development. After about 1050 an "interlaced" Kufic became widespread, in which the strokes were developed into simple or complex interlacings that also helped decoratively to fill the voids.

In the 12th century the development of Kufic for the most part came to an end. In the manuscripts of the period it was no longer used, although it still served for decorative inscriptions and those on buildings, where it resulted in various "Kuficizing" forms, such as the "geomatric" forms.

Kufic was well-suited to calligraphy on parchment, the principal medium for copies of the Holy Quran from the 8th to the 10th century. The parchment was used either in natural, blue, voilet or red colour written in black or gold ink. In Iran the calligraphers used a variation of the Kufic script in which the verticals were more emphasised than horizontals. From this type of Kufic evolved another one in which the letters were rendered more angularly. Iranian type of Kufic was fully developed in Seljuk period. In the 10th century there developed from the cursive script a round fluent hand known as Naskhi, which gave a new direction to calligraphy. To the famous calligrapher vizir Ibn Muqlah (d. 940) is attributed the introduction of Naskhi into the chancery of the caliphs of Baghdad ; he prepared a round hand which was perfected and amplified by another vizir, Ibn al Bawwab (d. 1032). The beauty of this style was further enriched by Yaqut al-Mustasimi (d. 1298), who introduced the pen with a tapering point to replace the reed pen with a straight slit ; he had many disciples and imitators. In the eleventh century A.D. the use of Kufic in Quran became less frequent and was gradually replaced by Naskhi, although Kufic continued in use for chapter headings even at a much later date. From the 12th century on Naskhi spread to all the Muslim countries.

Many Iranian calligraphers were disciples of Mustasimi and were active at home and in Turkistan. Tabriz became an important centre. An early 13th century attempt at a national Iranian form through the use of the slant-cut reed is known as "taliq" ; it is especially abundant on ceramics of the period. A book hand, the Nastaliq, was created by Mir 'Ali of Tabriz' (late 14th century). It has rounded circles and a more formal and accurate symmetry. Many of the forty masters called by Prince Baysonqur (d. 1433) to the Academy of Artistic Book Production in Herat were disciples of Mir Ali, whose style they spread far and wide. This style was also propagated by Sultan Ali Mashhadi (d. 1513) who was active at the court of Herat, together with the great poet Jami and the famous painter Bihzad. Mahmud of Nishapur (d. 1545) in Tabriz, Mir 'Ali of Herat (d. 1558) in Bukhara, and, in the early 17th century, Mir Imad (d. 1648) and 'Ali Riza Abbasi in Isfahan were great masters of nastaliq as well as naskhi.

From the 16th century on the nastaliq style spread to Indo-Pak sub-continent where it enjoyed a great calligraphic success in the court of Mughal Emperors. Zahir-ud-Din Babur, the founder of Mughal dynasty in the Indo-Pak sub-continent was keenly interested in calligraphy and is known to have introduced a style called "Khatt-i-Babri". Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Prince Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb Alamgir and Bahadur Shah Zafar were themselves, adepts in calligraphy. Muhammad Hussain Kashmiri, Sultan Bayazid, Mir Abdullah Tebrezi, Mirza Muhammad Hussain, Muhammad bin Ishaq Haravi, Agha Abdur Rashid Dailmi, Abdul Baqi, Sayyed Ali Khan, Hadayt Ullah Khan, Muhammad Afzal Lahori, Muhammad Mujim, Mir Muhammad Musa, Ghulam Muhammad, Sayyed Amir Rizvi known as Panjakash were some of the famous calligraphers at the Mughal court. Apart from the court circles there flourished a host of calligraphers in different provinces such as Punjab, Sind, Gujrat and Deccan, whose contribution to the art of calligraphy is by no means insignificant.

Since Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Lahore were the main centres of Mughal Empire, they became great centres of learning where calli-

graphy thrived and flourished. As a result these centres became the so-called four schools of calligraphy and although, generally speaking, there is not a very marked difference between the products of the schools, yet they can be differentiated in many minor points of calligraphic technique.

The practice of calligraphy in the Indo-Pak sub-continent was not confined merely to the established styles in Iran or other countries but the Muslims of the sub-continent made themselves so accomplished in it that they were excellent competitors in elegance and beauty of style. As a matter of fact they actually invented certain new forms and styles known as Khatt-e-Gulzar (rose), Khatt-e-Ghubar (rose petal), Khatt-e-Mahi (fish), Khatt-e-Paichan (curl) and Khatt-e-Nakhun (nail) most of which were used for decorative purposes.

Illumination

The early manuscripts of Holy Quran were not elaborately decorated. The embellishment was generally confined to the script being written in gold ink on parchment, either natural, blue, violet or red in colour. Under Abbasids gilding with gold and silver was used for copies of Holy Quran. There were some scholars like Abu Ubaidah who were expert in this art. It was however in Saljuk period that profusely illuminated manuscripts came into vogue. The parchment used heretofore was replaced by paper. The text was often embedded in a ground of arabesques, rosettes and scrolls and the title pages gradually assumed special decorative importance. British Museum possesses a Holy Quran containing several fine illuminated pages with the interlacings and arabesque scrolls typical of Saljuk art. It was written and illuminated by Abdul Kasim Ibn Ibrahim and is dated Jumada I, 427 (March, 1036). Several Saljuk Qurans of 12th century bearing dates are preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, University Museum Philadephia, Chester Betty Collection, National Museum Tehran, shrine of Imam Reza in Mashhad and the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York.

Under the rule of Ilkhans the art of illumination reached new heights. The characters are scattered with gold, the verses set in scalloped cloud-panels and the grounds often filled in with decorative stem work. The title pages have a new embellishment, being broken up into different geometric fields filled with text and ornament. Towards the end of 14th century Tabriz and Samarqand came to hold a leading position. The best known specimens of this period are the Quran in Leipzig, written in Baghdad in A.H. 705 (1305-7) and the Quran in the Royal Egyptian Library in Cairo written by Abd Allah Ibn M. In Hamadan in A.H. 713 (1313). The latter has several fully illuminated pages which are masterpieces of abstract ornament. In most cases the field is divided into compartments containing arabesques or rosettes in gold and blue, occassionally with addition of green; the geometrical composition are enhanced by the use of contrasting background colours, such as gold and blue—the favourite colour combination of Iranian illuminators of all periods. A fine Quran in Beatty Collection written by Abd Allah as Sairafi dated Muharram 721 (Nov. 1327) has illuminated chapter headings with arabesques and Kufic script in vivid colours, such as red, turquoise blue, green, and white on a gold ground. This polychrome trend of the 14th century had a decisive influence upon future development of Iranian illumination.

The illumination in 14th century did not confine to the Quran alone. Gradually it found its way into illustrated manuscripts, forming either separate vignettes or frames for the miniatures themselves, as may be seen in the manuscripts of al Hariri's Maqamat of A.H. 734 (1334) in the National Library, Vienna.

The arts of the book reached their height in 15th century under the rule of Timurids. Timurid illumination developed a distinctive style in which naturalistic plant ornament, with the frequent addition of birds and animals of Chinese origin, played an important role. There are several varieties of Timurid illumination. In one the ornament is painted in gold and out lined in black ; in another

the design is in gold alone placed on a dark blue ground. Both types of illumination were probably developed by the artists of Shiraz School. The illuminated title pages of several Timurid manuscripts, particularly those made for Shah Rukh and Baysanqur Mirza, are amongst the most sumptuous ever produced and represent the Herat style of decoration. One of the finest manuscripts of the Herat School is the Shah Namah of 1419 in Tehran Museum which has plychrome illuminations done by court artists. The intricate interlaced arabesques and floral scrolls of these illuminations show an astounding richness of detail and brilliancy of colour comparable only to those found in enamels.

The colour scheme and the ornament of the Herat illuminations of early 16th century differ only a little from that of the 15th century. The background is usually blue, although occasionally there are smaller compartments in gold or black and the ornament is painted in white, yellow, pink, vermilion, red, blue and green.

The Safavid period saw the full flowering of what had been developed in the Timurid period particularly in the Herat School. The new capital of Tabriz became a centre of production for sumptuous manuscripts for it harboured the most prominent illuminators and gilders. The composition of the title pages into fields with stars or medallion compartments and frames with cartouches and similar ornament was their invention.

Illumination painted in gold was further developed by Safavid artists. Several names of illuminators or workers in gold (muzhib) are known. The well known Bukhara painter Mahmud added to his signature the cognomen muzhib. Maulana Hasan Baghdadi was considered incomparable, unsurpassed and unique in his time in the art of gilding. Maulana Bari compared with him. Many manuscripts of this period have page borders with floral scrolls, animal and human figures, painted in liquid gold in shades of green and yellow, which are as fine as the miniatures themselves. The style of

illumination practised at the court of Shah Tahmasp continued through the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 17th century, the colour became more vivid and large palmettes and lanceolote leaves were often used in the ornament. Several other techniques were practised by Safavid artists but known since Timurid period ; one is stencilling in which the design appears in a light or dark silhoutte. Another is the so-called "decoupe" work in which the design is cut out and pasted on coloured ground generally blue.

In the Indo-Pak sub-continent the illuminators at the Mughal Court followed the contemporary trends of book illumination in Safavid Iran. They enriched the field by further innovations. After the first phase in the 16th century the main development took place in the production of single pages. Delhi, Agra and Lahore became great centres of book illumination. In the later 16th century Kashmri artists also vied with other schools and gradually overshadowed all of them.

Book-Binding

The binding was essentially meant to protect the pages of the book from injury and to give the exterior of the book an appearance of its contents. In the beginning the decoration was confined to the exterior of the covers and the flap that closed over the front edges of the book. Later the interior faces of the covers or doublers were also often elaborately ornamented.

For book-binding leather is the ideal material. In the late period lacquered papier machie came into favour but leather was never wholly discared. Various processes were employed in the decoration of the book-bindings. The leather was tooled or stamped, either with or without gold. Cut out work in gilded leather or paper over a ground was a more elaborate technique frequently used for the doublers.

Originally the bindings were crude. Books were bound in

leather, dressed in lime, which by reason of the defective process, remained much too stiff and hard. At a later date, in Kufa, a more effective way of dressing leather was invented. This was done by means of dates, with the result that leather became softer and limper.

The earliest extent book covers of the Muslim period come from Egypt and may be dated from the eighth to the eleventh century. Iranian book-bindings of the Timurid period are among the finest ever produced. Technical skill and fine design characterise the bindings made at Herat Academy where the art of leather filigree reached a high level of perfection. The exterior usually show stamped decoration, while the *doublers* have cut out patterns against a blue background. Notable 15th century bindings decorated with typical Timurid landscapes and Chinese motives are found on manuscripts dated A.H. 841—and 849 (1437 and 1445 A.D.) in the Topkapu Saray Library at Istambul.

In the 16th century under the Safavid dynasty book covers were elaborately ornamented and gold was used more abundantly then in the 15th century. In some cases the decoration covered the entire surface, in others it was confined within medallions or other compartments. A Bustan manuscript in Metropolitan Museum of Art represents a fine specimen of the binding of this period. The exterior is decorated with stamped gilded arabesques interlaced with delicate floral scrolls and Chinese cloud bands. On the interior the ornament consists of arabesques in delicate leather filigree on background of blue, pink and green. Safavid book-binding decoration differing in technique from that of the Timurid era, is not hand tooled and stamped but is pressed with large engraved matrices of copper or steel. The process of gilding and pressing were usually combined, but sometime the leather was gilded before being pressed with the hot matrice. Gold paper filigree replaced the cut leather work of the Timurid period. The paper filigree is placed on backgrounds of red, blue, green, black and lavender.

In Indo-Pak sub-continent Dacca, Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Lucknow were the great centres of book-binding. Kashmiri School, however, dominated them all. Its exquisite lacquer covers with predominally floral patterns were very popular.